## THE

## TRIBAL SYSTEM

IN WALES

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# THE TRIBAL SYSTEM <br> IN WALES 

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## THE TRIBAL SYSTEM

IN WALES

BEING PART OF AN INQUIRY INTO
THE STRUCTURE AND METHODS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY

BY
FREDERIC SEEBOHM
Hon.LL.D. (Edin.), Litt.D. (Camb.)
(SECOND EDITION, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON THE UNIT OF FAMILY HOLDING UNDER

EARLY TRIBAL CUSTOM)

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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## THE SECOND EDITION

ON THE UNIT OF FAMILY HOLDING UNDER EARLY TRIBAL CUSTOM.

In publishing a second edition of this essay on the 'Tribal System in Wales' something seems to be needed by way of explanation and apology for its reprint without material revision.

It is nearly nine years since the first edition was published and it has now been for some time out of print.

As was stated in the preface it was a part only of a wider inquiry. Its object was intentionally restricted to the study of the tribal system in Wales preparatory to the extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems.

This course was adopted in the hope that the previous study of the strictly Welsh evidence might be used as a key to the understanding of Germanic tribal custom, and so eventually aid in the elucidation of some of the difficult problems involved in the conditions of early Anglo-Saxon society.

The results of this extended study have been published in a separate volume, 'Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law,' and it seems appropriate in reprinting this essay after so long an interval briefly to refer in a preliminary note to the chief points upon which fresh light may have been thrown back upon the Welsh tribal system.

It may appear at first sight to the reader that the better way would have been to have re-written this volume. But the premature use of comparative eridence has its dangers, and it seemed to be the wiser course to adhere to the original intention, and to leave the separate statement of the Welsh evidence with all its imperfections substantially unaltered.

At the time when this essay was written there lingered in the minds of students a not unnatural mist of suspicion as to the reality of the conditions of tribal society described in the Codes and legal treatises collected in the two volumes of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales.' A good deal of it was, I think, dispelled by the facts recorded in the Denbigh Extent. Results of tribal custom described in the 'Ancient Laws' were here found to be recorded in detail as still existing at the date when the survey was made. In particular it became clear that the unit of holding was the family unit of the 'wele' or 'gwely.' And the description of the gwelys by the surveyors was definite enough to dispel any mist of unreality which had hitherto surrounded them.

It is not too much to say that a definite conception of the Gwely as the unit of tribal holding is as essential to the understanding of Welsh tribal
custom as was that of the Virgate or Yardland to the understanding of the English village community under the open field husbandry of the manorial system.

But it is not easy, from modern points of view, to realise what this unit of tribal holding was and what the methods and internal rights of its members may have been.

Professor Maitland has pointed out that in records of common law and custom features may well be included belonging to different periods and stages of legal thought and economic conditions; so that the whole body of custom as recorded could hardly have all of it been in force at any one time.

This important consideration certainly applies very forcibly to the statements of Welsh custom as to the gwely and internal rights of its members. As contained in the Codes and Extents they do not always appear to be consistent. Therefore any light that can be borrowed from comparison with other more or less similar or corresponding units under Germanic custom must be helpful to the student of Welsh custom. He will approach the study of the Welsh tribal system with all the more confidence if already aware that it is not to be regarded as an isolated phenomenon in history.

The Welsh Extents disclose to us a family group, limited to the descendants of a great-grandfather, holding together the family share in tribal rights and occupation of land as a united body, still generally under the name of the great-grandfather as chief or head of the gwely although he may long have been dead.

As regards the internal rights of the members of the family group the Codes agree in describing three successive periods of equal division.
(1) On the great-grandfather's death there was to be equal division per capita in the next family grade : that is, between his sons as brothers; (2) after the death of all the sons there was to be a like equal division in the next grade per capita among grandsons as first cousins. Lastly (3), after the death of all the grandsons there was to be a like equal division per capita in the third grade between greatgrandsons as second cousins.

These were the rules for what was called 'tir gwelyawc,' i.e. land of the 'gwely.' It seems clear that the ultimate right of division among greatgrandchildren, as second cousins, per capita, made necessary the continuance of the family holding till the final division took place. But at first sight it may well be a puzzling question what took place at the final division.

There might be twenty or forty second cousins. Did the original gwely split into as many new gwelys! I think not. Let us suppose that the great-grandfather had three sons, A, B, and C, and that three of the second cousins at the final division were 9 randsons of A, and ten of them grandsons of B, and twenty of them grandsons of C. There would he thirty-three second cousins but there would only be three new gwelys. The gwely of A (sometimes called in the Extents 'the gwely of the grandsons of A') would take $3_{3}^{3}$ of the family rights. The gwely of B (or the grandsons of B ) would take $\frac{10}{3} \frac{9}{3}$. The gwely of ( (or the grandsons of C) would take
$\frac{20}{33}$ of the family rights. The members of each of the new gwelys, not being, as between themselves. second cousins, would hold their shares as undivided family holdings until, in another generation. the final division in their gwely among second cousins would take place.

That something like this was what happened is confirmed br the frequent mention, in the Extents, of the 'gwelrs of the grandsons of so and so.'

Thus the process would be continuous and might go on for ever.

Now that this unit of tribal or family holding had something like a counterpart under Germanic tribal custom is in itself an instructive and interesting point. There is clearly traceable in the Norse, Frankish, and other laws. something like family ownership by groups of blood relations contrasted with what te may roughly call individual ownership.

In the title De Alodis of the Lex Salica there is direct allusion to the ultimate division of the land of the $\cdot$ alods or family holdings per capiter amongst grandsons and great-grandsons. And clauses relating to the family holding or 'alod ' occur also in the Ripuarian law and that of the 'Angli and Werini." The 'olal holdings under the ancient Norse laws also present many traits of family rather than individual ownership.

The general resemblance between the family holdings of Celtic and Germanic tribal custom need not be a matter of surprise.

It was suggested in this essay that the rules oi Welsh custom as to family holdings may, after all, hare been the outcome of the family volidurity
naturally resulting from early conditions of pastoral as contrasted with later agricultural life. And without direct connection similar causes may have produced similar results elsewhere.

Under Norse and Anglo-Saxon Law, no less than under Welsh custom, the status of strangers in blood is found to rise step by step as generation after generation a more and more perfect kindred grows up around them to swear for them and defend them. In fact, the existence of a family or tribal solidarity not only underlying the family group to the fourth degree of blood relationship as in the gwely but also extending to seventh and ninth degrees of kinship has to be recognised under Germanic as well as under Welsh tribal custom as the foundation of the rules regarding personal status and land-holding.

The root of this family solidarity may have been originally ' ancestor worship,' or perhaps the regard for ancestors, at the date of the laws, may be sufficiently explained as the feeling naturally resulting from the family solidarity without its being necessary to exaggerate it into a religion.

It is not needful to decide which was the cause and which was the effect. It is only necessary to refer to the pages in which the gifted Swedish novelist Selma Lagerlöf ${ }^{1}$ has described the family and almost tribal instincts of her hero Ingmar-Ingmarson to understand how even now in Scandinavia the family bond in the popular mind may include ancestors as well as their living descendants. She describes how the conscience of the living Ingmar has for its appeal

[^0]and sanction the approval of the 'great Ingmars' in the other world whose presence is sufficiently vividly realised to make it natural that they should be consulted in emergencies, especially when the honour of the family is at stake.

This description of the realisation of family solidarity in modern Scandinavia may help to the understanding not only of the family character, of odal holding under the old Norse laws, but also of the continued unity of the Welsh family holdings long after the great-grandfather may have been dead.

Nor is it difficult to gather from the Continental laws themselves evidence pointing to what may probably have been the constitution of the Welsh family group in a simpler and earlier condition than that in which we find it in the Codes, and suggesting how it may have been already modified under Christian and Roman influences in the direction of individual ownership.

It may perhaps be most easy to conceive of the gwely, as we find it in the Codes and Extents at any one time, as a group consisting of a living grandfather and his sons and grandsons, the great-grandfather in most cases being already dead. And we want to understand what may have been the nature of the community of interests among the living members, both as regards rights in the occupation and grazing of land and the ownership or use of cattle and goods.

The rules in the Codes as to the successive divisions among brothers, cousins, and second cousins, nominally relate to the land of the gwely, but in the pastoral stage of tribal life cattle must have been the
main object and the grazing of cattle the main subject of agrarian rights.

The Extents accordingly bring into prominence grazing rights over large tracts of open country often exercised jointly by several gwelys in common.

The close connection between cattle and the rights of grazing raises important questions. We want to know more than the Codes tell us as to the ownership of the cattle, how far there were common herds vested, with the landed rights of the gwely, in its representative head or chief, or how far the cattle were owned by its members as personal property.

There are, indeed, facts from which inferences may be drawn. For instance, when the matter of the payment of the galanas or blood fine comes into question we find that it is paid in cattle, and that everyone has cattle: fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, all have a right to receive, or are liable to have to contribute so many cows or their equivalent. Obviously the cattle seem to be distributed among the tribesmen very widely, and if every one had cattle he must also have participated in the occupation of the homesteads and the grazing rights of the gwely.

We learn, chiefly from the later legal treatises, that the right of every tribesman on coming of age was to location on land and a cyparwys (or gift for his maintenance) of five free erws or strips with right to join in co-tillage of the waste, and hunting. And this the young tribesman, we are told, had in his father's lifetime, not from his father, but by right of 'kin and descent from the kindred. But there is no mention of cattle as a part of the cycaruys.

And we learn from the Codes that when a boy attained the age of fourteen he was no longer to be maintained by his father-at his father's platter. The father was no longer to be responsible for his maintenance or his actions. He was to take his son to the chieftain (whether of the kindred or smaller group of kinsmen) and the son was thereupon to become ' man and kin' to the chief, who thenceforth was to support him. He was now to have $d a$ or cattle of his own, presumably by gift or loan from the chief as representing the kindred. And he was to be on the privilege of the chief and not of his father. So complete, indeed, was his independence of his father that any act of correction by his father was to be reckoned as an assault, for which he was to be liable to a dirwy or fine. ${ }^{1}$

The inference that the tribesman received his $d a$ or cattle from the chief as representing the kindred, and not from his father, is confirmed by the fact that, according to the Venedotian Code, on his death without sons the $d a$ or cattle went back, not to the father, but to the chief.

The Irish evidence makes it almost certain that the da came from the chief. For under Irish custom, as is well known, the gift or loan of cattle by a chief to his tribesman was what marked the relation between them and formed the most prominent link in the chain of tribal society.

The question whether in the Welsh case the young tribesman received his cyrarwys and $d a$ from the head of the wider kindred or that of the gwely is

[^1]one not easily answered from the Welsh evidence alone. Irish custom might lead us to suppose that he might receive cattle both from the head of his gwely and from the higher chieftain.

The word used in the Codes for Chieftain in this matter is 'argluyd.' But as the father in the same sentences is said to be the 'argluyd' of his son up to fourteen, the word does not tell us much. The transfer of the son at fourteen was from the argluydship of the father to that of the chief.

After all, the main fact to be considered is that the individual tribesman during his father's lifetime claimed his cyvarwys and other tribal rights, presumably including his $d a$, not by inheritance from his father but by right of ' kin and descent' from the kindred. And it may well be inferred that this fact must have been a vital one in the constitution of both the kindred and the gwely.

In early stages of Welsh tribal society the chieftain from whose hands the $d a$ was given may have been the chief of the organised kindred. There are clear traces in the Codes of the organisation of the kindred. But when the growth of individualism had loosened the solidarity of the kindred, it may have been the chief of the gwely from whose herds the $d a$ came and in which it was merged again on the tribesman's death without children.

Be this as it may, other questions arise as we try to realise what may have been the internal rights and conditions of the members of the gwely.

What happened if the deceased tribesman had sons? Did they, under early custom, succeed to their father's dre and grazing rights, or did these still
go back to the chief and merge in the common stock ? Strictly speaking, if tribal custom was to be consistent, perhaps they ought to have done so.

Again, when the general division was made on the grandfather's death equally between his sons as brothers, did the division include the cattle as well as the rights of grazing? There surely should have been some correspondence in regard to them.

Lastly, was the division made only between surviving brothers, or did the grandchildren, sons of a deceased brother, take the share their father would have taken had he lived?

So long as the ruling principle was maintained intact that the tribesman's rights came from the tribe or kindred, and not from the parent, it is easy to see that the idea of a son's succession to his father's cattle and rights-so natural to the modern mindmight, under tribal custom, be by no means a mere matter of course. If the sons had each had their da from the chief, why should they succeed to their father's $d a$ in addition?

Any admission of representative succession if found to exist at any one time might very well be suspected as probably a later innovation upon earlier custom rather than as originally germane to it.

Some recognition of a 'peculium' of individual property would naturally be one of the first innovations upon what may have been the original community in cattle and goods under earlier custom. The tribesman's $d a$ would increase under peaceful surroundings. Already in the Codes the word da has become widened in meaning so as to embrace chattels
of other kinds. Thus any incoming rights of succession would have to deal with the $d a$ in its wider meaning.

Evidently, in the time of Howel the Good, the succession of sons to a father's property (trev y tat) had already been conceded. Indeed, when under that Prince a kind of settlement was made between Cymric custom and the requirements of ecclesiastical law, the dispute was as to whether only legitimate sons should succeed to their father's property.

But had it been so always? And did the right apply within the gwely? Or did it only apply to land more or less under individual ownership? There evidently was land both within and outside the gwelys, and the same rule may not have applied to both.

It is upon these points that the comparative evidence of Germanic tribal custom comes to our aid. And especially useful are the suggestions it gives as to the early constitution of the family holdings and the steps by which the growing tendencies towards individualism gradually broke up the solidarity of family ownerships. The conditions of Germanic tribal society may have more or less differed from those on this side of the Channel, but, after all, tribal society everywhere in Europe had to fight the same tendencies. On both sides of the Channel it was a losing game, and, sooner or later, very much the same goal had to be reached.

In the Scanian Law ${ }^{1}$ there is a clause as to pro-

[^2]perty brought into the family by a son's wife, with the heading ' Of a grandfather's property (bonis) what portion goes to the grandchildren on the death of a filius familias.'

The clause relates to the case of property brought in by the wives of sons 'in sacris paternis cum uxore constituti.' And it is settled that when there had been no 'definitio' of the wife's property on marriage, it became part of the communis substantia of the grandfather, but if it had been specially defined and made separate on the marriage, this separate property alone went to the sons of the marriage if the grandfather was alive when the father died.

Here we get valuable light at once. First, there clearly was a communis substantia of the family group vested in the grandfather as pater familias. Secondly, if the separate or settled property of the wife alone went to the sons, the grandfather being alive, the inference is that the unsettled property of the wife went back with the husband's property into the communis substantia of the grandfather. There was apparently no succession by a son in the grandfather's lifetime, and the grandfather was apparently the chief in whom the communis substantia was vested.

Further clauses in the Scanian Law confirm this view that whilst originally there had been no succession of sons, more modern notions of justice had made necessary a modification of the rule at the date of the laws.

Thus, according to Clause CXI. :

[^3]But a later clause (CXVI.) makes the modification by giving power to the grandfather to allow the succession if he liked to do so.
> ' It is lawful to everyone, after the death of a son, to confer upon a grandson, the son of that son, whatever would have been due to the son had his father lived.'

This power given to the grandfather to allow succession by a grandson at his discretion confirms the point that originally, under ancient custom, the deceased son's substance had gone back into the communis substantia of the grandfather; otherwise how could he dispose of it?

The point also is interesting that at the date of the Scanian Law the communis substantia was vested in the grandfather as the pater familias, and not in the chief of a wider kindred.

Turning from the Scanian Laws to the Lex Salica and its important clause ' De Alodis,' the alod seems to include the whole bundle of family rights and property both land and cattle. Its clauses provide for the succession even of females to the inheritance of anyone who dies without leaving sons, and from this it may be inferred that already the succession of sons had been allowed. But a special clause is added to protect the land of the alod-the terra Salicafrom ever passing to female holders, whatever might become of the personalty of the alod. ${ }^{1}$


#### Abstract

- Concerning, however, terra Salica, let no portion of the inheritance pass to a woman, but let the male sex acquire iti.e. sons succeed to that inheritance. But when, after a long time, dispute may arise between grandsons or great-grandsons


[^4]concerning the alod of land, let the divisions not be per stirpes but per capita.'

It may probably be inferred that while the terra Salica of the alod remained, like the Cymric tir gueliauc, subject to regular division per capita finally between second cousins, the personalty of the tribesmen had already become the subject of succession by sons, and now at last, in default of sons, by females.

The Continental evidence throws special light also on the further point : as to the right of grandsonssons of a deceased brother-to share with their uncles in the family property when the grandfather was dead and the division between brothers took place in regular course-a point upon which the Cymric Codes are not explicit.

In the Lombardic Laws there are clauses relating to family holdings, and one of the laws of Grimwald has the following heading: ${ }^{1}$
> 'Concerning the succession of grandsons who, after the death of the father, have remained in the mund of the grandfather (in sinu avi).'

> And the enactment is that, on the grandfather's death, sons of a deceased son are 'to take of the substance of the grandfather such part, with their uncles, as their father would have taken had he been alive among his brothers.' And this was a modification of ancient custom as to family holdings, made to meet the more modern sense of justice.

> So that originally there had been no succession

[^5]to a deceased son, in the grandfather's lifetime. It is interesting to note that in this case the division between brothers certainly included personalty.

A similar modification of ancient Norse custom occurs in the Gulathing law under which in the case of Odal land-holding the right was given to the grandsons to redeem from their uncles what would have been the share of their father had he survived. But here again it was only after the grandfather's death that they could do it, the inference being that they must wait for the family division among brothers on his death. ${ }^{1}$

Now if we look at all these clauses from the point of view of the Cymric gwely, we recognise at once their significance. Upon the matter of the succession of sons to their deceased father's substance-be it in cattle or grazing rights, or what not-the inference from the Germanic evidence seems to be that under early tribal custom there was originally no succession. It suggests that until later modifications of early custom allowed it the deceased tribesman's substance, whether he had sons or not, went back into the communis substantia of the grandfather as head of the family holding.

And if at the date of the Scanian law the family group was represented by the grandfather, so in the Welsh case at the date of the Codes it might well be that the grandfather as the living head of the gwely was the chief from whom the Welsh tribesman received his cyrarwys and da.

With regard to the further question whether the

[^6]successive divisions between brothers, cousins, and second cousins included only the landed rights of the gwely-the homesteads and the rights of grazing and what not-or whether the cattle of the gwely and of the tribesmen were originally also included, there is the valuable precedent that the alod under the Lex Salica included both land and personalty.

With regard to the question whether originally in the division on the grandfather's death between brothers the sons of a deceased son were allowed to step into the father's place and take their father's share with their uncles, again the inference must be in the negative, for the evidence of Germanic custom seems to show distinctly that it was only by later modifications of custom that succession by representation was allowed.

Nor would this seem unnatural from the point of view of Welsh custom under the circumstances. For if we try to realise the feelings of the elder generation in the gwely, it will hardly seem extraordinary that uncles should decline to put their nephews, the sons of a deceased brother, on an equality with themselves-i.e. into a higher grade than their sons could be during their lifetime. Why should they not wait till, all the uncles being dead, they should come with the other first cousins to the redivision among them equally per capita ?

Regarding all these points together, the conception of the family unit of holding in tribal society in its earlier conditions becomes simple, logical, and consistent. The head of the group (whether of the kindred or the gwely) is the representative holder of the landed rights and the common herd of cattle of
the group; and the individual tribesmen receive their cyvarwys and da by right of ' kin and descent' from the tribe through him, and on their death their cattle received from the chief go back to the chief and are merged in the common herd.

The relation of the tribesmen to the chief was therefore not that of joint-tenants, in the modern sense of the term. It was that of 'man and kin' to the chief, from whom they receive by tribal right homesteads and cattle-yards and allotments of cattle for their maintenance.

Now if in the light thus gained from the comparative evidence of Germanic tribal custom and the modifications of it we examine the Welsh evidence more closely, it may be possible to trace in the Welsh Codes and legal treatises themselves marks of modifications on similar lines. With eye opened by the facts of Germanic custom, we may find perhaps in the Welsh evidence itself what was unnoticed before.

There is at least one quite extraordinary survival (if it may be so regarded) of what might seem to be the result of carrying to a logical extreme the independence of the young tribesman who, having at fourteen ceased to be dependent on his father, had become the 'man and kin' of the chief.

The matter refers to the right of the father on the one hand to receive a share of the galanas or blood-money of his son if murdered, and as to the liability of the father on the other hand to pay a portion of the galanas of a person killed by his son.

It would, indeed, be carrying to a strange extreme the theory of the independence of the son if in these
cases the father were neither to pay nor receive any part of the galanas.

In the clause of the Gwentian Code as to payment of galanas, II. i. 14, it is stated :-


#### Abstract

' The third of the galanas falls upon the murderer, and the two (other) parts are shared into three shares: two (sub) shares on the kindred of the father, and the (other sub) third on the kindred of the mother.'


This is the rule also in the Venedotian and Dimetian Codes. But in both these Codes the father of the murderer had to pay a part of the third which fell upon his son. And accordingly under these Codes the father likewise received a portion of the galanas of his murdered son. The right to receive a share and the liability to pay a share were correlative. But under the Gwentian Code the father shared neither in the payment if his son were the slayer nor in the receipt of galanas if his son were slain. He paid nothing and received only a penny !
(II. xxxix. 14.) ' Three persons to whom galanas is paid and who pay galanas to no one . . . The third is a father, for a share comes to him of the galanas of his son, to wit one penny, since his son is no relative (kar) to him, and no one of those three is to be killed for galanas.'

Nor can there be any mistake on this point, for in another and quite independent clause (II. viii. 8) of the Gwentian Code it is repeated :-

[^7]Again, in a legal treatise (W. L. Bk. XIV. xxxriii. 14) supposed to be of the sixteenth century is the following :-
'Can a father complain for the killing of his son? He cannot : he is not within the grades of affinity (carennydd).'

No wonder that on the death of a son without children the father had no right of succession to his $d a$ !

Recurring to the right of succession of a son to his father, it is obvious that as gradually this was conceded, a question of the mutual liability for each other's debts would arise and have to be dealt with. So long as the $d a$ of the son dying without children went back to the chief, as it did under the Venedotian Code, the chief naturally had to pay the son's debts.

So the liability of a son for his father's debts naturally would follow the recognition of his right of succession to his father's property. The obligation to pay the debt would naturally go with the property. Something like stages in this recognition may be traced in the Codes.

Thus in the Venedotian Code (II. vi. 27 and 28) the question whether a son ought to pay for his father on his father's death in case he was a surety or a debtor, was answered as once doubtful.
'Some say that if that son willeth to deny his suretyship, on the grave of the father the legal denial is to be given.'

But this (which was probably old custom of the time when there was no succession allowed) was omitted in making new law. It was now laid down (succession having been allowed) that it was right for

[^8]debt, as in that case the lord stood in the place of a son and took the $d a$ of the debtor.

In the Dimetian Code the rule was different. It had been allowed (D.C. II. xxiii. 19) that if after a division among brothers one had died, 'the coinheritors within the three degrees of kin' were to be his heirs, i.e the members of the gwely. And consistently with this it was ruled that 'the three nearest degrees of kin' were to pay the debt of a tribesman dying in debt (II. vi. 21): i.e. the members of the gwely were to pay it. And this seems to point to a stage or condition of things in which, on the death of a member of the gwely, his $d a$ fell into the common stock of the gwely from whose chief it had probably been received.

Pursuing the question of succession to the $d a$ of a tribesman dying without a son still further, it seems that while at first it went back, as we have seen, to the chief or to the gwely, it ultimately was allowed to go to the father. And here again we may trace the steps by which the change was effected.

In the Venedotian Code (II. xxviii. 9) the lord is to receive the $d a$ in this case, as we have seen. And this is reiterated in a legal treatise of about A.D. 1401 (W. L. X. xvii. 31). But in a later treatise, said to be of the fifteenth century, and evidently belonging to a stage after the succession of sons to a father's property had been allowed, the next step is gained.

[^9]and how rights of succession gradually grew up within the gwely.

As regards land held more or less in individual ownership outside the gwelys, the right of succession, having been given in Howell's time to sons, was ultimately extended to females.

In the Dimetian Code (II. xxiii. 7 ) it is stated that
' If an owner of land (perchen) have no other heir than a daughter, the daughter is to be heiress of the whole land.'

Nor was this altogether without precedent, even within the gwelys, for though as to land there is no trace of the succession of daughters, the Venedotian Code (II. i. 64 ) allowed that a daughter might succeed to the da of her father along with her brothers, taking half a brother's share, and, as we have seen, succession to cattle came very near to succession in grazing rights also.

This mention of land outside the gwelys leads to another point upon which something perhaps should be said. To the student of the Welsh Codes nothing is more perplexing than the mixture, so to speak, of clauses relating now to the family land of the gwelys and at other times to what seems to be more or less individual ownership of land. The two systems seem to be going on side by side, and unless they can be disentangled there is very apt to be uncertainty and confusion. Here, again, I think the comparative evidence of Germanic custom may help us to some extent.

Few more useful suggestions have been made towards the understanding of Anglo-Saxon land-law than that of Professor Vinogradoff as to the distinc-
tion between boc-land and folc-land. He suggests that boc-land is that land which has become the subject of charters and conditions of the more modern type. Folc-land, he suggests, is that land which is still the subject of tribal custom.

I have ventured to extend the scope of this suggestion to a similar discrimination in the Lex Salica between two distinct methods or systems of land ownership, viz. between the res propria of the 'Romanus possessor' of land, and the family ownership under Salic custom of the terra Salica or land of the alod. ${ }^{1}$

May we not again apply the same suggestion to the distinction in the Welsh Codes between land held more or less under individual ownership and land held by the gwelys in family possession under tribal custom?

It is important to observe that on the conquest of North Wales it was found to be impossible to bring all Welsh land under the English system of land tenure. The Statute of Rhuddlan gave the choice between Welsh custom and English law, with the result that the two systems were left to work side by side till the Statute of Henry VIII. at last brought everything nominally under English law, to the great perplexity of English lawyers.

But here a caution is needful. Whether we speak of Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, or Welsh economic conditions, it would be wrong to jump to the conclusion that the contrast and conflict was simply between the family holdings of tribal custom and the

[^10]individual ownership of more modern legal tenures introduced from outside. We must not forget that within the rule of tribal custom there was something like demesne land in the possession or under the control of chieftains let out often to tenants who were not tribesmen but strangers in blood. And this land outside the gwelys and under quasiindividual occupation and ownership was as truly under the control of tribal custom as the gwelys themselves. It played a part which cannot be ignored in tribal society, and that by no means only in its later stages.

Even upon the demesne land of the chieftain tribal custom imposed many of the restraints involved in family solidarity. And this is just as clearly shown in the earlier as in the later grants made to the monasteries by the chieftains. The consent of members of the family seems generally to have been required to give validity to grants of this kind.

Apart, however, from the chieftain's demesne lands, there was land seemingly held under more modern legal conditions of ownership.

The Codes and treatises use the word perchen for ouners of this more modern type. The term is never, I think, applied to the tribesmen in the gwelys. The word applied to these is priodawr, implying possession by tribal or hereditary right. But, though an ouner in the sense of his being free from the tribal rules of division among brothers, cousins, and second cousins, the individual owner was not free altogether from the traditional ties of family solidarity. Even in the later legal treatises the consent of heirs is required to alienation.

The following is from a legal treatise of about the fifteenth century (W. L. XI. i. 3).
(3) An owner of land (perchen tir) having no heir of his body can appropriate his land to whomsoever he will. If there be an heir, however, to an owner of land, he cannot do so; for the owner of land cannot disinherit his heir, nor assign his land to anyone without the consent of his heir, except for their joint interest, to wit during his own time; or through his being pressed by one of the imperative necessities, which free a person's selling his land without consent of his heir ; such as necessity for meat and drink, or for money to pay his debt.'

This clause clearly refers only to land in individual ownership. For if there be no heir, the owner has apparently full power of alienation, which he never could have under the family holding of a gwely.

Nothing could mark more clearly the contrast between the two systems of land-holding than another set of clauses in the same legal treatise relating to family holdings. The question is in what court a tribesman's claim is to be sued for by ' kin and descent' (W. L. XI. v. 7).

And the ruling is that if the claim affected only the members of the $g$ wely, it might be sued for in the court of cymwd or cantrev to which the land pertained, because
'As between brothers and cousins and second cousins, every one of those knows the propriate share which he is entitled to have according to law.'
But, on the other hand, if the claim had its origin further back than the third descent, then it must be sued for in the sovereign court.

The clauses are instructive enough to be worth
quoting, because of the incidental light they throw upon the gwelys, and the reality of the tribesman's rights within the wider kindred.

In Clause 9 of the same chapter is the following :-
'(9) This is the reason that a plaint of kin and descent from the third degree onwards cannot be determined in the court of a cymwd or cantrev, because a plaint of kin and descent cannot be pursued but against a stock (welygordd) of co-relatives to the person who shall claim the land, and who shall be holding that land through the same common ancestor from which be likewise claims a share with them in right thereof and being able to trace his unextinguished kin, by oaths of the elders of the country to himself without three times lapsing to the distaff. And lest such land should chance to be in diverse canghellor-ships after being shared among the family stock (welygordd) . . . so as not to be cognisable in the court of a cymwd or cantrev, it was established for a suit of that nature to belong to the sovereign court, so that every one of the family stock might be compelled by the effect of one conjoined plaint to answer jointly to such as should question them.'

## The next clause proceeds thus :-

'(10) For it is not regular to move a plaint from court to court for one matter, nor to prefer a plaint, against one person, or two, or three, of kin and descent from the third degree onward when there are more of the family stock (welygordd) holding the land in opposition to him [the claimant]: because it may happen for an inheritance of land to have descended in small shares, among forty or sixty co-inheritors; and one among the family stock (welygordd)-his [the claimant's] father or his grandfather or his great-grandfather-might be out of the country and without having had a share.
'(11) And on that account it was settled for that claim to belong to the sovereign court where everybody could be compelled to answer jointly. And if he should there succeed, then he is to be admitted to participate with them; and he would be allotted an equality with each of the united number that should be holding the land in opposition to him.'

Here there is still at work under tribal custom,
presumably in the fifteenth century, the system of family holding under the rules of tir guelyawc.

The case put is that the claimant's great-grandfather may have been out of the country, and so may never have got his proper share in the division three generations ago.

The claim might therefore affect the wider group of kindred comprised in what is spoken of as the 'gwelygordd' in distinction from the gwely. The gwelygordd included a wider group than the gwely. No matter that three generations may have passed since the division in which his great-grandfather should have had a share, his claim is not yet barred, and as we learn from the Codes, would not have been barred till a descendant in the ninth generation made his claim too late. Within that limit the tribesman had a right to his cyrarwys and his da.

In conclusion, on consideration of the Welsh and the Germanic evidence together, and the light thrown by one on the other, may we not say that through the common influence of Roman and ecclesiastical law, and the altered sense of justice which came in with them, there can be traced a common process of change moving upon remarkably similar lines towards the disintegration of tribal society on both sides of the Channel-in both Celtic and Germanic experience?

And, further, may we not gather from the comparative eridence that this change took effect in Welsh custom from both outside and inside the gwely-that from outside it was felt in the increased independence of the gwely-the weakening of the control of the wider kindred over it-at the same time that from
inside the gwely the family solidarity also was loosened?

It would seem probable that by the time of the conquest of Wales by Edward I., and the making of the surveys and extents, the head of the narrower family group of the gwely had become the chief in whom the family rights and herds-the communis substantia of the Scanian laws-had become vested, and that, on the other hand, the growing individualism had by that time progressed so far within the gwely that on the death of a member of the gwely his $d_{a}$ no longer went back to the chief, or into the common stock of the gwely, but was allowed to pass by inheritance to his children.

If we may take this to have been roughly the stage that had been reached in the gradual disintegration of tribal custom, it may help us at the same time to recognise that under earlier tribal custom the chief of the organised unit of the greater kindred may have been the chief of whom the young tribesman became the 'man and kin,' and from whom he received his $d a$, while at the same time the absence of any recognition under earlier custom of the right of succession of sons to their father's $d a$ may have logically and naturally resulted in the return of the $d a$ of the deceased tribesman into the common stock of the group of kindred from whose chief it came.

The importance of the wider kindred to the ninth degree of descent from a common ancestor is emphasised by the description of it in the Codes and later treatises as an organised unit under its recognised 'piencenerll,' or 'chief of kindred,' its seven elders,
and other officials. There would further be a reasonable consistency in the tribesman's obtaining direct from the chief of kindred that provision for main tenance which he claimed by kin and descent from the kindred. It would also be in accordance with Sir Henry Maine's suggestion that the primitive patriarchal chieftain must have had duties which balanced his rights.
' I conceive (he wrote in his " Ancient Law ") that if he disposed absolutely of the persons and fortunes of his clansmen this representative ownership was co-extensive with a liability to provide for all members of the brotherhood out of the common fund.'

The importance of the organised kindred may seem to have lessened as time went on, but it did not vanish altogether. The more or less organised kindred remained a necessary element in tribal polity.

In the passages quoted above from a later treatise it is made clear that the tribesman's right to his tribal provision, even in later times, reached back farther than the gwely to a remoter stock, a gwelygordd embracing several gwelys.

And, again, it must not be forgotten that the payment and receipt of galanas for murder was a matter, not between tribesmen or gwelys of the same kindred, but between kindreds, although within the kindred those nearest in relationship to the slayer or the slain had to pay or receive the largest share in the galanas.

That under earlier conditions the community of cattle and grazing rights may have vested in the chief of kindred rather than as later in the gwely would
not necessarily prevent the gwely from having been the unit of family holding under both earlier and later custom.

There must always have been, as under Irish custom, a hierarchy of chieftains one above the other, from the head of the gwely and the chief of kindred to the chieftain of the tribe. And as under Irish custom the link between the grades of chieftains was the allotment or loan of cattle so it may have been in Wales also.

The chieftain of the wider kindred, though in theory representing the descendants of a common ancestor, could never himself have been, like the head of the gwely, the actual ancestor of the group of his own descendants.

In this respect the gwely was the Welsh tribal unit corresponding most closely to the Roman group under the patria potestas.

In the gwely the great-grandfather was either actually living or had been so sufficiently near in memory to be so regarded. The group of his descendants was a complete agnatic group, for daughters were married into other gwelys, remaining only under the guardianship of the gwely from which they came. The descendants of daughters were not members or co-heirs in the gwely except when, having been married to non-tribesmen, their sons were allowed tribal rights in their mothers' gwely.

In these points the gwely resembled the group under the patria potestas.

This, too, was a family group held together by a common descent and obedience to the highest living ascendant, whether father, grandfather or great grand-
father. The potestas was that of a living ancestor over the person and property of his descendants; and though the power over their persons was early diminished, that over their property remained a more or less permanent element in Roman law.

The agnatic character of the group included in the gwely was not destroyed by the at first sight anomalous fact that within the wider kindred maternal relations participated in the receipt and payment of galanas. For though the descendants of daughters were not included in the gwely, they were included in the wider kindred if they had been married into a gwely within it. If the daughters had been married away into another kindred, it may well be assumed that their sons would have no right or obligation to receive or to pay what was the claim or obligation of a kindred to which they did not belong.

There is therefore, I think, no reason to conclude that there was any real clashing between the gwely and the wider organised kindred as parts of original tribal arrangements, although in the course of time some of the powers and obligations of the chief of kindred may under later conditions have descended to the head of the smaller group.

Something like the same kind of transition or descent may have already taken place in Roman custom by the time that the patria potestas of the living ancestor had become a fixed element in Roman law.

That there were resemblances between the Welsh gwely and the group under the Roman patria potestas need not lead to the suggestion of common origin or borrowing by one from the other. Sir Henry Maine
xxxvi Introductory Note to the Second Edition.
seems, indeed, to have thought that 'a considerable element of debased Roman law may have existed in the barbarian systems,' but even so the comparative evidence we have considered would not lead to the supposition that it materially affected the core of indigenous custom of both Celtic and Germanic tribes.

The attempt to separate the elements of original tribal custom from the changes which came upon it almost everywhere in Western Europe under Roman and ecclesiastical influences may not have been in everything successful. But when we see rights of succession creeping in practically on similar lines in the case of widely separated tribes, whether the contact with the new order of things came upon them in the sixth or the twelfth century, the uniformity in the changes enables us to recognise them as such, and to seek for the more original body of tribal custom behind them. Not that we regard even this condition of early custom as the ultimate and primary one, but rather as representing a stage of economic evolution in Western Europe which we have found it worth our while to try to understand.
F. S.

August 1904.

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

This volume contains the first part of an essay which may be described as an amplification of the very imperfect sections on the Welsh Tribal System published more than ten years ago in my ' English Village Community.'

It is confined to an attempt to understand the structure of tribal society in Wales. The methods of tribal society in Wales and the extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems are left to form the subject of another volume. It seemed best to print this part of the essay separately, so that the Welsh evidence might be considered on its own merits, without the subject being involved at this stage in the greater difficulties which arise so soon as the ground covered by the remarkably full and detailed Welsh documentary evidence is departed from.

The methods of the Welsh tribal system come, indeed, more or less within the range of this documentary evidence, and might well add, incidentally, great strength to some of the conclusions as to the structure of tribal society in Wales. But as it is mainly through comparison of the Welsh methods
xxxviii Preface to the First Edition.
in detail with those of neighbouring systems that the links are obtained by which the connections are established, it seems best to leave the consideration of the Welsh methods to that part of the inquiry which is relegated to another volume.

The documentary evidence above referred to will be found, I think, to justify the stress laid upon the Welsh system as a stepping-stone to wider knowledge. So much of it is unpublished, and remains in manuscripts not easily accessible to the general student, that it became necessary to print at full length in the Appendices the passages most relied upon, as leading up to an understanding of the Welsh Codes, and to the establishment on a firm basis of the main facts of tribal customary law.

For the careful transcription and the correction of the proof-sheets of these copious extracts I have to thank the care and skill of Mr. W. K. Boyd.

The value of the several manuscripts for the purpose in hand will become evident as the inquiry proceeds, especially that of the Denbigh Extent, an original copy of which, through the kindness of Colonel Howard, of Wygfair, has been placed entirely at my disposal. ${ }^{1}$ An Extent which enters so fully into detail, and describes survivals of the tribal system actually at work throughout a considerable district at the time of the English conquest of North Wales, could not fail to afford the best possible ground from which to proceed to the study of the customary law contained in the Codes.

[^11]As regards the Codes and legal treatises contained in the ' Ancient Laws of Wales,' I will not forestall what is said in the text further than to express the belief that they will be found to fall into their right place when regarded as links in the chain of evidence as to the character of tribal custom which existed both before and after them.

Respecting the earlier evidence great caution is no doubt necessary. I cannot pretend to have said the last word upon a subject so difficult. But I have done my best to place the reader in the position to draw his own conclusions by giving careful transcriptions of the original text of the documents chiefly relied upon, side by side with the translations. And I trust their interest and importance will justify the use I have made of them.

I am much indebted to the officials in the Public Record Office and the Manuscript Department of the British Museum for help ungrudgingly given in connection with the documents under their charge.

I have not often in this volume referred to the conclusions of previous inquirers, because I was unwilling to appear in any way to write in a controversial spirit; but this is no reason why I should not here fully acknowledge the value of Mr. A. Neobard Palyer's excellent work, all the more striking because it has been confined mainly to facts which have come within his own local knowledge and researches. Nor have I neglected to consult the more extended, but at the same time more speculative, work of the late Mr. H. Lemis.

I am aware that to the Celtic scholar the work of an economic inquirer, making no pretence to a knowledge of the Welsh language, will in itself have the appearance of presumption. But if his taste should be offended by the avoidance of any attempt to translate the spelling used in the documents into modern Welsh, and by the use of English plurals to words which in such a comection become technical terms, his anger will, I hope, be disarmed by the candour with which the writer's ignorance of the language is frankly confessed.

I have to thank my friend, Professor Rhys, for many useful hints given, and the avoidance thereby of some of the linguistic pitfalls to which a stranger to the Welsh language was necessarily liable.

I trust that shortcomings of the kind above alluded to will not prevent the reader from appreciating the full weight of whatever economic conclusions may be legitimately drawn from the evidence itself.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the value of a substantial knowledge of the facts of one tribal system as a key with which to unlock the riddles of others. Nor is it necessary to point out the importance of a knowledge of the Tribal System, wherever found, as an almost universal factor in the early development of European society, and in the formation of mediæval institutions.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge the invaluable and constant help I have received from my son, whose study of the remains of the tribal
system amongst the Greeks will, I hope, shortly be published, and form a useful contribution to the subject.

I have also to express my gratitude for the encouragement received from other fellow-workers in Economic History in the course of the studies which have resulted in this volume.
F. S.

> The Hermitage, Hitchin :
> March 1895.
N.B.-I have again to thank fellow-workers, and especially Professor Vinogradoff, Professor Maitland, Sir F. Pollock, and Mr. A. N. Palmer in connection with the 'Introductory Note' to this second edition. I have also to thank Professor Kovalewsky for his appreciative review in the Revue Internationale de Sociologie (1897).

To this edition I have added (in Appendix F.) a transcript of an Inquisition of 24 Edward I., including extents made in 8 Edward I (1280), three years after the peace with Rhys ap Mareduc. The ratification of this peace by Prince Llewelyn in 1277 (Rym. Fœd. i. 542-5), confirming the customs previous to the war, enables us to regard the division of the ' comots' in these extents into 'Westuas,' or gwestva paying units, as of earlier tribal origin.

It having been found that reference in this volume to the pages of the two volumes of the 'Ancient

Laws of Wales' is inconvenient to those readers who have access only to the single volume edition, I have so altered the references as to embrace both editions by making them refer to chapters and clauses in the Codes and the legal treatises. Thus V. C. III. xxi. 9, refers to the book chapter and clause of the Venedotian Code, and W. L. II. xii. 8, to book chapter and clause in the legal treatises of the second volume.
F. S.

The Hermitage, Hitchin :
August 1904.

## CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.<br>THE LAND SYSTEM IN ANGLESEY, AS DESCRIBED IN THE EXTENTS.

SECT. PAGE
I. THE CYMWDS AND CANTREFS OF ANGLESEY ..... 1
II. THE SO-CALLED MANOR OF ABERFFRAW ..... 5
III. THE FREE TENANTS OF ABERFFRAW ..... 9
IV. THE SO-CALLED 'VILLANI' AND 'NATIVI' OF ABERFERAW ..... 14
V. THE OUTLYING HAMLETS OF ABERFFRAW ..... 19
VI. DUES AND SERVICES FROM THE REST OF THE CANTREF. ..... 21
VII. THE RELATIVE BURDEN OF THE DUES AND SERVICES ..... 22
VIII. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE ANGLESEY EXTENTS ..... 25
CHAPTER II.
THE DENBIGH EXTENT OF 8 EDWARD III. THE WELES AND GAVELLS OF TRIBESMEN.

1. THE VALUE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT ..... 28
II. THE WELE OF LAUWARGHE AP KENDALYK ..... 31
III. THE WELES OF CANON AP LAUWARGHE AND PYTHLE AP LAUWARGHE ..... 37
IV. THE WELE OF RAND' VAGHAN AP ASSER ..... 41
sECT. PAGE
v. the shiftivg in the location of the kindreds after the conquest ..... 43
vi. the gwely in south wales. extent of the lands of ST. DAVID's. A.D. 1326 ..... 48
CHAPTER III.
THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCTETY.
2. nature of the evidence of the codes and traditions ..... 51
it. the distinction between tribesmen and non- tribesmen primarlly one of blood ..... 54
iII. the kindred and its organisation ..... 61
iv. the grade of kindred to the fourth degree of descent ..... 72
v. the grade of kindred to the seventh and ninth DEGREES ..... 78
vi. the reason of the three grades of kinship ..... 81
CHAPTER IV.
THE STRUCTURE OF TRTBAL SOCIETY-(continued).
I. the relation of the grades of kindred to the occupation of land ..... 87
il. the property of the individual tribesman under the cymric tribal system ..... 94
iif. the application of the grades of kindred to mutual responsibllity for crime ..... 101
IV. TIIE GRADES OF ARISTOCRACE IN THE KINDRED AS MARKED BY THE 'GALANAS' ..... 105
V. CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE OF THE DENBIGII EXTENT ..... 110

## CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION TO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN BLOOD.
SECT. ..... PAGE
I. THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF STRANGERS ..... 115
1I. THE LINK OF FOSTERAGE BETWEEN TRIBESMEN AND NON-TRIBESMEN ..... 127
III. FURTHER EVIDENCE FROM 'CELTIC SCOTLAND' ..... 128
IV. THE RECEPTION INTO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN SOUTH WALES ..... 131
CHAPTER VI.
CHIEFTAINSHIP IN THE TRIBE.
I. THE GRADES OF CHIEFTAINSHIP ..... 134
II. THE TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP THAT OF A FAMILY ..... 140
III. THE CHIEFTAINSHIP IN ITS RELATION TO LAND ..... 149
IV. THE CHIEFTAIN'S FOOD-RENTS FROM FREE TRIBESMEN ..... 154
V. THE CHIEFTAIN'S DUES FROM NON-TRIBESMEX ..... 164
VI. CORROBORATION OF THE CODES BE THE EXTENTS ..... 166
CHAPTER VII.
THE TRTBAL SYSTEM AND THE CHURCH.

1. THE IMMCNITY OF THE CHCRCH FROM THE EXACTIONS OF TRIBAL CHIEFTAINS ..... 172
II. THE NATCRE OF THE EARLY RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THF CHUPCH ..... 178
III. THE MS. ENTRIES IN TME 'BOOK OF ST. CHAD' ..... 181
IV. THE FVIDENCE OF GILDAS ..... 186
xlvi Contents.
SECT. PAGE
v. THE FORM OF CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THE CHURCH ..... 192
Vi. the early records of donations in the 'book of llan day' ..... 199
vil. the donations to the monastery of st. cadoc ..... 205
viil. the donations to the monastery of st. cadoc ..... 210
IX. THE DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC ..... 214
X. Authenticity of the early evidence. ..... 224
XI. Value of the early evidence. ..... 229
CHAPTER VIII.
conclusion ..... 234
APPENDICES (see separate table of contents)
INDEX ..... 123
LIST OF MAPS.
ISLE OF ANGLESEy, SHowing Cantrefs and cymwds To face $p .2$
THE SO-CALLED MANOR OF ABERFFRAW ..... 6
THE HONOR OF DENBIGH ..... 30

## CHAPTER I.

## THE LAND SYSTEM IN ANGLESEY, AS DESCRIBED IN THE EXTENTS.

## I. THE CYMWDS AND CANTREFS OF ANGLESEY.

In order to secure a firm basis from which to work backwards from the known to the unknown, it is proposed to commence the inquiry by the examination of a typical and well-known Welsh district as described in the various surveys or Extents made since the final conquest of North Wales.

The Isle of Anglesey presents a convenient geographical area for the purpose, and the so-called Manor of Aberifirau, on the south coast of it, a remarkably good example of a so-called ' manorial' unit.

Several Extents of the island are extant in the Public Record Office and elsewhere, the earliest being made in 22 Edward I. (A.D. 1294) only a few years after the conquest. ${ }^{1}$

The Isle of Anglesey, according to the Extents, was divided into three cantrefs, each of them embracing two cymuds. ${ }^{2}$

In each cantref a chieftain's residence, called a

[^12]Chap. I. manor, formed a centre for the dependent villos or hamlets scattered over the area of the two cymwds.

The Manor of Aberffraw was one of these central manors, and is of special interest as the royal seat, from early times, of the Princes of North Wales (successors of Cunedda and his sons), till the final defeat of Prince Llewelyn and the annexation to England in 1282.

These describe services before the conquest.

The earliest Extents describe the condition of things on the so-called Manors of Anglesey after the conquest. But from the result of a petition made in the year 1305, and repeated in 1314, it appears that the services mentioned in the survey of 22 Edward I. were the services before the conquesti.e. the services by ancient Welsh custom under the native Welsh princes, and not fresh ones imposed after the conquest. In this petition the villeins of the Manor of Penros complained that a mistake had been made in the former 'Extent,' and the answer to the petition was the grant of a new inquiry to be made on the spot by the Justice of North Wales, ' who caused to come before him the best people to know and certify to him what were the customs and services which the said villeins made and ought to make in the time of the Princes of Wales.' ${ }^{1}$

The services, therefore, described in the earliest Extent, although it was made after the conquest, may be taken as the services of the tenants under Llewelyn and his predecessors.

The cantref of Rhos included the two cymwds of Menay and Tyndaethwy. The cantref of Kemmeys contained the two cymwds of Talybolion and Turkelyn.

[^13]

So far everything is clear.
But the Extent was taken by Norman officials, who saw what was to be seen with Norman eyes, and recorded such facts as they found in the legal Latin of Norman lawyers with an admixture of such Welsh terms as defied easy translation.

When, therefore, in their description of the four head 'manors,' as they called them, of the cymwds and cantrefs of Anglesey, an attempt was made to press them into the mould of Norman common forms,

The surveyors see things throagh Norman eres. it is very likely, indeed, that they made too rapid a generalisation of their main features according to a priori conceptions of what a manor ought to be, and it becomes needful to discriminate between the facts and the terms in which they may be stated.

The Extent which enters most fully into details, included in the 'Record of Carnarron,' affords at once an instance in point. It was made not only after the conquest, but also unfortunately after the Black Death, and thus after the rearrangements and alterations ineritably following a great depopulation. It contains many incidental marks which show that Wales had suffered with the rest of the world in this great catastrophe.

The makers of this Extent describe the head manors of the cantrefs of Anglesey as de trina natura, and, knowing the Welsh lore of triads, this might at first sight be taken as a specially Welsh characteristic. But closer examination leads to the conclusion that the surveyors were using terms of their own, and classifying the tenants under three heads for purposes of their own, rather than describing a triple constitution necessarily belonging to the Welsh

Сhap. I. system under Welsh chieftainship. It is well to clear out of the way at the outset this otherwise misleading generalisation of the makers of the 'Record of Carnarvon.'

Both the Manerium de Kemmeys and that of Penros are stated to be de trina natura-i.e. there are said to be in them people called ${ }^{1}$ -

1. Gwir Male, or people paying ' mal,' or money tribute.
2. Gwir Gweith, or people doing services or work.
3. Gwir Tir Borth, or people on 'Board land.'

These two manors are the centres of the two cymwds of Talybolion and Turkelyn combined in one cantref, and are therefore probably described in the same terms by the same hand. But the manor of Rosfair, in the cymwd of Menay, though also described as de trina natura, is said to contain the following three classes of tenants, ${ }^{2}$ viz.-

1. Puri Nativi vocati mairdreve.
2. Alii Nativi qui se dicunt esse liberos nativos.
3. Alii Nativi vocati Gardynemen.

If the liberi nativi of Rosfair be taken as equivalent to the Gwir Male of Kemmeys and Penros, and the puri nativi of Rosfair as equivalent to the Gwir Gweith of the other manors, still the trina natura, as a uniform system, breaks down in the third class. The tenants on tir borth hold 'gavells,' and pay from $12 s, 7 d$. to $13 s .4 d$. each, and $5 s$. relief and 2s. amobr, while the Gardynemen of Rosfair pay only from $8 d$. to $2 s$. each, and their relief is only $2 s$. and amobr $2 s$.

[^14]There is apparently no analogy between the Rosfair cottagers with gardens and the tenants on 'tir borth' of the other manors with their 'gavells,' and a further examination into the details leads to the conclusion that the 'triple nature' of these manors is one of Norman classification, and did not represent a real feature of the Welsh tribal system.

Whilst declining, therefore, to be misled by the Need of too rapid generalisation of the Norman makers of cantion in the Extent contained in the 'Record of Carnarvon,' 'verman. and still recurring again and again to it for valuable details, we turn to the earlier Extent ${ }^{1}$ of 22 Edward I. as that most likely to represent the condition of Anglesey before the conquest.

In the description of the manors this Extent makes no mention of the trina natura, but English manorial precedents are nevertheless closely followed.

## II. THE SO-CALLED MANOR OF ABERFFRAW.

Commencing with the Prince's own manor of Aberffraw, we get an unbiassed and direct introduction into our subject.

The village of Aberffraw is placed at the mouth of the river Ffraw just where it ceases to be tidal and begins to pass through a triangular reach of sands into the sea.

The Aberffraw mill is placed on the river, where doubtless it has always been, just above high tide.

[^15]Position of the manor of Aberffraw.

Crap. I. The church is ancient, for it contains a fine old Norman arch and stands on an ancient site on the high ground above the river. Near to this was the palace of the Welsh princes. Between this and the river lie now, as centuries ago, the little strips or gardens of the cottagers, now called 'lleiniau,' and divided by turf balks.

Divided by the river into two parts.

The territory included in what was called the manor in the Extents was divided into two parts by the river Ffraw, and the broad, sandy, and marshy tract on the east side of it (called the Tywyn Aberffraw) runs far into the land, nearly up to the 'Llyn Coron,' from which the Ffraw river flows.

There was a second mill on the stream above the Llyn called Dyndroval, and a third on another stream N.W. of Aberffraw called Melin-y-Bont.

The western portion of the manor lies behind the site of the palace, and forms a blunt promontory between the Ffraw river and the next bay. It also extends to the north a few miles inland. ${ }^{1}$

The eastern portion makes a similar promontory between the Tywyn Aberffraw and the tidal estuary of the river Cefni. But this eastern part of the manor is abruptly cut off from extension inland by the parish of St. Cadwaladr, which, apparently from the sixth or seventh century, by grant of the ancestors of the Welsh princes, was handed over to the Church, and freed from tribal or other secular services to them.

One of the features of the position of the manor

[^16]
of Aberffraw is the access to the sea all along the
Chap. I. rocky coast for small boats in the numerous 'porths' or natural harbours running up between ridges of rock and ending in a sandy beach.

The parish of Cadwaladr has its own little porth -porth Cadualadr-and each member of the manor Porths
and places of refuge. near the coast had its own porth in the same way bearing its name. It sometimes also had its own place of refuge for cattle in a rocky peninsula running out into the sea, called a dinas and bearing its name.

There are several manuscript Extents or surveys of the Manor of Aberffraw more or less in detail several Extents. and bearing date $1294,1339,1351,1352$ (‘Record of Carnarvon '), and 1608 (see Appendix A).

The various members or hamlets of the manor are, with little exception, traceable throughout this remarkable series, and they are still easily recognised on the ground and on the Ordnance map in the names of the most substantial farmhouses of the modern estates.

The Extents before the Black Death describe first what in the Domesday Survey would have been called the lord's demesne, including 5 carucates of land, 3 mills, 2 meadows, and the fishery. This demesne land embraced what the later Extents describe as the hamlets of Garthey (consisting of 14 gardens near the church), of Maerdref' (the tref under the land maer of the Welsh Codes-the home farm of the manor), and Irefcastell. ${ }^{1}$ The

[^17]The Land System in Anglesey.
Chap. I. continuity as between the Extents may be thus stated:-

| 1608 | 1352 Record of Carnarvon | 1251 | 13:3 | 1294 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Garther | Garthey | 4 carucates | 5 carucates | 5 carucates |
| Mayerdref | Mairdref | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}3 \text { mills } \\ 2 \text { meadows } \\ \text { piscaria }\end{array}\right.$ | 3 mills <br> 2 meadows | 3 mills <br> 2 meadows |
| Treffcastell | Drefcastell | Trefcastell occupying 5 th car. | piscaria | piscaria |

The free tenants.

The unfree outlying hamlets.

Under the head of free tenants are the following holdings described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as ' Weles' (literally 'beds '), being tribal homesteads :-

| 1608 | 1352 | ${ }_{1}^{1351}$ | ${ }_{1}^{1339}$ | 1294 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Free tenants | (Free Weles) |  |  |  |
|  |  | - | - |  |
|  | Wele Bodeueurik | Bodeueryk | Bodeueuryk | Bodeneuri |
|  | Wele Trewaspadrik Gavel Sayr | Trewas | - | Trefwaspatryk |

Lastly the unfree and outlyiny hamlets, not on the demesne, but situated on the other side of the river in the eastern portion of the manor, were as follows :-

| 1608 | 1352 | $1: 351$ | 13:9 | 1294 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Treberfeth | Drefberneth | Trefberwet | Trefberwyth | Trerberewet |
| Trefry | Trefry | - | - |  |
| Tinlloydan | Dynloidan | Dynthladan | Dynthlodan | Dyncloydan |
| Keventreffro | Kendrefrowe | Keuentrefau | Keuyntreffrau | Weuentefraw |

It is curious to notice that the Norman officials just after the conquest confine themselves to Norman terms, and that such Welsh terms as 'Garthey' and 'Maerdref ' and 'Weles' and 'Gavells' seem to revive in the Extents made after the Black Death.

This is explained by the remarkable tenacity of Chap. I. Welsh custom and the extraordinary continuity secured by it from one Extent to the other for 300 years after the conquest.

These surviring terms help to bridge orer the periods before and after the conquest, and so to connect the Codes and the Extents.

One feature common to both is the location of the free and bond tenants in separate hamlets or groups of homesteads. Each class of hamlets must therefore be separately examined.

## III. THE FREE TENANTS OF ABERFFRAW.

The free tenants are described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as occupying Weles. We shall see hereafter that the uele ${ }^{1}$ or guely was, strictly speaking, tree tenants occupy in reles. rather the family or kindred occupying the hamlet than the hamlet itself, and that mostly a hamlet was occupied by several weles.

In the Extents the old food rents of the free tenants or weles had already been commuted into moner payments. And these money parments were evidently treated as not charges upon persons but permanent charges upon the holdings in occupation at the time of the conquest. They were scrupulously respected by the conquerors, and have mostly been left unaltered from that time to this. The amounts of these rents are practically the same, even to the small details, in the Extent of 1294 and that of 1339 half a century later. And comparing these with the later survers and Extents the evidence is

[^18]Снap. I. conclusive of the literal truth of the historical statement that the rents of the free tenants remained unaltered by the conquest of Wales.

The rents of free tenants. 1294 are stated as follows :-


They are the same in the Inquisition of 1339.
They are the same in the Extent of 1351 after the
They are the same in the Inquisition of 1339.
They are the same in the Extent of 1351 after the Black Death.

They are the same in total in the 'Record of Carnarvon' in 1352, though somewhat varied in the classification of them and increased by two additional items.

The record commences with the statement that there were 4 free weles, viz. :-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Wele Porthorion paying . } \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
\varepsilon & s & d \\
1 & 1 & 0
\end{array} \\
& \text { Wele Simond „. . } \begin{array}{llll}
0 & 3 & 2
\end{array} \\
& \text { Wele Bodeueurik " . . } 01711 \\
& \text { Wele Trefwaspadrik ,, . . } 013 \text { 6 } \\
& \text { £2 } 157
\end{aligned}
$$

exactly the old amount; to which are added :-

| Gavell Sayr (carpenter's gavell) | ${ }_{0}^{\text {¢ }}$ | 8 | ${ }^{\text {d }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 bovates (escheat) . | 0 | 3 |  |
| Making the total |  | 3 |  |

They remain the same for centuries.

The rents of the free tenants in the Extent of

Finally in the Survey of 1608 the Summa Totalis of the 'Rents of Assize of Free Tenants'=3l. 3s. $9 d$. These money payments are the amounts into
which the ancient food rents of the free tribesmen were commuted, and the continuity, as already pointed out, shows that they were regarded as charges on particular lands or holdings, and not personal charges. Many of them are still payable as ancient quit rents throughout North Wales.

Besides these money payments there were, how-

Chap. I.
$\qquad$ ever, customary services. Although the Extent of 1294 mentions no services beyond the money rents of the free tenants, there is other evidence that services were due from them. These are set out at length in the 'Record of Carnarron.' ${ }^{1}$

The Wele Porthorion (or Homestead of the Gatekeepers) did suit at the Courts of the cymwd and cantref. The heredes of it were liable to payment of a fine or relief of $10 s$. on the entry of a new tenant, and an amobr of the same amount on the marriage of their daughters. For their grinding they went to the Prince's mill at Aberffraw. There they ground their wheat and malt without toll, and all other grain at a toll of $\frac{1}{30}$ measure. And they made and repaired one vechme of the wall of the lord's manor house on one side of the gate and another vechme of wall on the other side of the gate. And if the Prince were at home they had from him meat and drink for nine men whilst making the wall.

The heredes of Wele Simond were liable to the same suit at Court and mill, and the same amounts of relief' and amobr, but did no work on the wall.

The heredes of Wele Bodeueurik (if the early spelling Bodeueurik may be trusted, possibly the Home-

The Wele of the smith.

[^19]Casp. I. stead of the Smith-literally, of the Goldsmith) and the Wele Trewaspatrick (of servants of Patrick) paid the same suit and relief \&c., and instead of work on the wall were liable to the kilgh hebbogothion or service in connection with the hawking expeditions of the Prince or his chief falconer.

Of the carpenter.

The heredes of the Gavell of the Sayr or carpenter were liable to the same relief and amobr, but not liable to the work on the palace wall or the hawking service.

These homesteads seem to be those of officers of the Court, and may well have been direct survivals of the times before the conquest.

They are officers of the Prince.

The amount of the payment for relief (the Norman equivalent for the Welsh ebedivo or death fee) and the amobr or maiden fee payable on marriage or incontinence, viz. $10 s$., suggests that these free tenants on the demesne were subordinate officers of the Court holding their land upon free tenure for their services. ${ }^{1}$

The holding of the Porthorion or gatekeepers at the Porter's Lodge was probably a survival from before the conquest. Though no prince now lived at the Palace of Aberffraw, its walls were not at once allowed to decay. It continued as a Court and a prison if not as a palace. The porter (porthaur.) under the Venedotian Code was an important official. He had his dwelling in the gateway, and had charge of the great gate, ${ }^{2}$ and in his house lodged the King's

[^20][^21]and the Queen's 'door-wards.' He was to summon the men of the Maerdref to work. His land and the land of the door-wards were free by reason of their office, and having the responsibility of the gate it was natural (though not stated in the Code) that the responsibility of keeping the wall on both sides of the gate in repair should rest upon the gatekeepers and be attached to their land. ${ }^{2}$

The smiths and the carpenters may also well be survivals. According to the Venedotian Code, the smith of the Court had to do all needful work for the palace (except certain things) and had his land free on account of his office. His work could hardly be dispensed with, whether the shoeing of horses or the mending of the ploughs of the Maerdref, or of the hinges of the gates, or the fastening or unfastening of the prisoners' chains, all of which were items of his duty under the Codes. ${ }^{3}$

There is a small fragment of the Court Roll of Aberffraw, dated 1346, at the Record Office, ${ }^{4}$ which shows that the porters still had charge of the prison, for it contains an entry of a fine on the porters for allowing prisoners to escape.

The examination of another Extent will elicit further information respecting the free tenants or successors of the Welsh free tribesmen. The Extents

[^22]there were gavells of the Carpenter (Sair), of the Smiths (Govent), of the Gatekeepers (Porthorion) and of the Squires (Huysorion).
${ }^{4}$ Crt. Rolls, Bundle 215, No. 13 (Record Office). See App. A d.

Chap. I. of Aberffraw reveal mainly the relations to the chieftain of those who were subordinate court officials.
iv. the so-called 'villani' and 'vativi' of aberffraw.

Some of the so-called villani or nativi of the Extent of 1294 were located on the demesne land of the Prince, and others in detached hamlets.

The demesne, according to the Extent of 1294, consisted of five carucates and two meadows.

The
rillani or natieri of the Maerdref.

From the other Extents we learn that it included the hamlets of the Maerdref and Garther and Trefcastell.

The services of the tenants of all these are described under the heading The Villani of Aberffraw, i.e. the villani of the demesne, as apart from the outlying hamlets in which other groups of villani were placed.

The gardens of the villani or cottier tenants included under the head Garther in the later surveys can hardly be other than those already mentioned as still divided by their turf balks and lying under the shadow of the church and formerly under the palace walls, close to the village where their 'cubiculi' or cabins were huddled together very much as the cottages are now in the present village.

They are described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as consisting of ${ }^{1}$ :-

14 gardens of terra nativa paying rents varying from $16 d$. to 7s. They did suit at the lord's mill at Aberffraw. They pay on account of staurum, and do carriage service. [There is no mention of relicf or amobr. Probably they were people too small to have to pay on these accounts.]

[^23]The rest of the demesne consisted of the Maerdref and Trefcastell with the five carucates (say 600 acres) of land. The Maerdref was the Prince's home farm, and Trefcastell, with the one carucate attached to it in the later Extents, was probably the central farm homestead of the demesne. It now survives as a substantial stone-built farmhouse with stone farm buildings forming a square behind it. It stands close by the porth at the extreme western edge of the Manor. The porth is a remarkably good one, affording more shelter and room than any other, and, as the name probably implies a stone-built homestead above the ordinary strength, it will be hardly wrong to consider Trefeastell as the farm homestead of the Maerdref cultivated by the 'villani of Aberffraw' under the management and responsibility of the 'land maer' of the Welsh Codes. ${ }^{1}$

As we have seen, the porter was to summon the men of the Maerdref to their work, showing perhaps that they lived in the village close to the palace gates.

But it was the land maer who had to superintend the ploughing and who was generally responsible for the services of the men of the Maerdref. The following is the general description of their services in the Venedotian Code :- ${ }^{2}$

> 'The men of the maertrev are to make a kiln and a barn for the King, and to supply them when it may be necessary. They are to pay the tunc (money dues) of their land into the hand of the land maer, and they are to support him twice in the year. They are to thresh, to kiln dry, to reap, and to harrow, and to

[^24]under the land maer.

Сhap. I.

Services of the men of the Maerdref.

Group of nine villani,
and of six,
and of nine,
and of fifteen.
mow hay, and provide straw, and fuel for the fire, as often as the King visits the Court, and when the King comes to the Court they are to present the King, according to their ability, either with sheep, or lambs, or kids, or cheese, or butter, or milk.'
Let us compare this general statement of these services with those described in the Extent. The latter inform us how at the date of the conquest the land maer of Prince Llewelyn regulated his Maerdref at Aberffraw in order to supply the wants of his palace and household.

The services of the men of the Maerdref and Garthey, as described in the Extent of 1294, may be summarised thus :-

First, their 'rents of assize ' [i.e. tunc] amounted to
88. 8d. Second, they had to supply $10 \frac{1}{2}$ crannoes of wheat.

| 8 | , | oatmeal. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 4 | $"$ | barley meal. | 48 . 7 d.

And these dues were valued at
[These, apparently, were paid from the results of their joint ploughing, which it was the land maer's duty to regulate.]

Then there was a group of 9 villani who rendered jointly the milk of 3 cows, $4 \frac{1}{2}$ sheep, 9 lambs, butter, 150 eggs, 27 hens, valued at

16s. 3d.
There was another group of 6 tenements (then empty), but from which had been due jointly 3 sheep, 6 lambs, 9 hens, butter, 100 eggs, valued at

5s. 1 d.
There was another group of 9 villani, rendering jointly 27 hens worth
28. $3 d$.

Also 3 days' work at cutting corn, receiving each a loaf a day $=$

2s. $3 d$.
The villani, as a body, also had to supply fire and straw in the Royal Court, worth 30s. 0 d .
Besides this, a group of 15 villani had to find in the autumn 300 day-works, by which [in addition to 80 day-works found by the villani forenseci of the cantref] the land of the maerdref
was tilled

66s. 9 d. 758.0 d .

Also 600 day-works of men and horses at harrowing

The villani also had to find 10 crannocs of oats for the horses

6 s. $8 d$.
Making the total value of their payments and services $\quad 13 \quad 18.6 \mathrm{~d}$.

This shows clearly that the so-called villein payments and services were regarded, like those of the free tenants, as due from the land or groups of holdings and not as personal charges upon single occupants.

The 'Record of Carnarvon' gives the further information that the villani of the maerdref
> 'do suit at the lord's mill of Bout (i.e. Bont) and Traith. [The demesne land lying west and north of the village, the mill of Bont would be their nearest mill.] Further, they carry timber and millstones within the Isle of Anglesey at their own charges. And they do joint work on the watercourse of the said mills. And they pay for relief and amobr 28 ., if able, but not otherwise. And they pay Kilgh Raglot. And they do the lord's carrying. And they pay a share of staurum, and nothing more.' ${ }^{1}$

These actual services of the so-called villani of Aberffraw correspond remarkably closely with the services normally due from the aillts and men of the Prince's muerdref' as described in the Venedotian Code above cited.

There is another point mentioned in the 'Record of Carnarvon' requiring attention, viz. the tenure of these tenants of the maerdref.

The Extent of 1294 has already disclosed that the rillani of the maerdref were arranged in groups.

Tenure of rillani. There were two groups each of nine rillani making certain contributions. There was another group of fifteen rillani who had jointly to find 300 day-works. These groups suggest very strongly arrangements for joint liability.

But an entry in the 'Record of Carnarvon' is more explicit. It runs thus ${ }^{2}$ :-

There is in Aberffraw] another hamlet called Mairdref. And it is of such a nature that if there were only one sufficient tenant he would be charged with the whole rent.'

[^25]Chap. I.
Tenure de natura de trefgerery.

In other parts of the 'Record of Carnarvon,' land under this joint liability is said to be de natura de trefgevery, and this at once connects it with the normal form of villein tenancy (if for the present we may so call it) in the Welsh Codes.

The Venedotian Code ${ }^{1}$ states that the ' maer and canghellor are to regulate the King's aillts upon their tyr kiury $w^{2}$ or register land.' And in another passage it states as follows :-
> 'Geldable land is not to be divided between brothers, but the maer and canghellor are to share it equally between all in the trev, and on that account it is called tir kijuryiw. And there is to be no extinguished erw (i.e. escheated to the lord) in the register land; but if there be an erw of that description in it the maer and canghellor are to share it in common among all, to one as well as to another, and no one is to remove from his legal tyddyn (or homestead) if an equivalent can be obtained for it of other land.
> 'And as we have said above respecting the other, so the maer is to proceed as to the land of the maertrev, leaving everyone in his tyddyn according as he best may.' ${ }^{3}$

From these passages it appears that the land of the maerdref was of the nature of such regulated land (i.e. in the nature of trefgevery). All the aillts, whether of the maerdref or of separate hamlets, were to be thus regulated, and those of the maerdref of the Prince were to be regulated by his land maer.

Accordingly, the 'Record of Carnarvon' describes not only the maerdref, but also the outlying hamlets of nativi as of the nature of trefgevery.

To these outlying hamlets attention may now be turned.

[^26]called tref gyffry.
${ }^{3}$ Venedotian Code, II. xii.
$$
\text { The Outlying Hamlets of Aberffraw. } 19
$$
V. THE OLTLYING HAMLETS OF ABERFFRAW.

Passing now from the demesne and western portion of the manor to what are called in the Extents the Hamlets of the manor, they are thus described in the Extent of 1294 :-

The Hamlet of Trefberewet is described as a group of nine villani rendering:-

Group of nine rillani,


From the 'Record of Carnarvon' we learn that this hamlet was of the nature of trefgevery, and there is mention also of their services :-

The tenants did suit to the Aberffraw mill, did carrying of timber and millstones to the mill, repaired the ditch, and did joint work at the watercourse [just as the men of the maerdref did at the mill of Bont?, and they paid propartem stauri, and they did carriage service for man and horse at $2 d$. They paid for relief and amobr 5s., and kilgh hebbogothion. ${ }^{1}$

The dues from the Hamlet of Dyncloyden are described in the Extent of 1294 thus:-

[^27]Chap. I.
villeyn
hamlets.

> Rent of one villein, viz. of David Hibernicus, who
> pays half of corn and milk, which is called merionyth ${ }^{1}$. 20
> The sons of Gregory ap Llewellyn pay :-
> 1 cran. wheat, 4 cran. oats . . . . 86
> 2 sheep . . . . . . . . 10
> 2 lambs . . . . . . . . 04
> Butter . . . . . . . . 066
> 40 eggs . . . . . . . $01^{\frac{1}{2}}$
> 6 hens . . . . . . . . 0
> 30 days' work . . . . . . . 39
> $\begin{aligned} & \text { De Pellipariis, } \frac{1}{2} \text { cran. barley meal, } \frac{1}{2} \text { sheep, } \frac{1}{2} \text { lamb, } \\ & 10 \text { cunce of butter, and } \frac{1}{2} \text { hen . . }\end{aligned}$
> 7 days' work . . . . . . . $011 \frac{1}{4}$
> $18 \quad 9 \frac{1}{4}$

The 'Record of Carnarvon' describes this hamlet as de terra nativa domini, and the tenants as doing the same services as those of the hamlet of Trefberewet. The farm still bearing the name of Dynloidan lies near the sea, and has its own 'porth' and 'dinas' as already mentioned.

The dues from the Hamlet of Weuentefrau were :-


4 101
They answer as to meryonnyth with the villani of Trefberewet.
This hamlet, under the name of Kendrefrowe, is described in the 'Record of Carnarvon' as of the

[^28]Mr. L. Thomas's Report on Labour in Walcs, b. ii. p. 64. See also use of the word maeronaeth for 'dairy-farming,' in Welsh Laws, W.L. XIII. ii. 75, and of the word maerty in Monmouthshire for dairy-house.
nature of trefgevery, like the maerdref and Tref- Снap.I. berewet, and as doing similar services.

Finally, there is a clause which states that all the villani of the Prince of Aberffraw pay every year for the work of the animals of the house $2 s$.

All these outlying hamlets appendant to Aberffraw were thus villein hamlets, according to the Extents, regulated by the Prince's officers, and in a special way connected with the Prince's estate or manor, more so apparently than were those of the rest of the cantref.
vi. dues and services from the rest of the CANTREF.

The rest of the cantref-i.e. the territory outside the boundaries of the Prince's manor or estate, and scattered over the two cymwds-consisted of what are called in the survey villce, which seem to be groups

Separate villue of free tenants and rillani. of homesteads, some of them of free tenants and some of them of villani, and occasionally of both.

The free tenants and villani of these trefs or villae paid as under :-

|  | s. $d$. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| In rents of assize from free tenants | 36 | 4 | 8 |
| In rents, corn, oatmeal, butter, eggs, hens, \&c., |  |  |  |
| and for the 'potura' of 1860 men and 403 horses |  |  |  |
| and of dogs, from villein tenants, amounting in value to | 23 | 6 | 0 |
| The villani of the cantref also furnished special |  |  |  |
| dues, and gave a day's ploughing once a year, valued at . | 4 | 6 | 11 |
| The perquisites of the Court amounted to | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Making a total of | $\pm 65$ | 17 | 7 |

## ViI. the relative burden of the dues and SERVICES.

Chap. I. Giraldus Cambrensis described Anglesey as containing the best corn-growing land in Wales. ${ }^{1}$

The Welsh, he says, ploughed for their oats in March and April, and for wheat in summer and winter, yoking to their ploughs seldom fewer than four oxen. The four oxen were yoked abreast, as in the Isle of Man and in Scotland, and Giraldus mentions that the driver walked backwards in front of the oxen, as was the case also in Scotland. ${ }^{2}$

Return of number of cattle in fourteenth century.

Bearing in mind that Anglesey was an agriculcultural as well as pastoral district, some light may be obtained from a comparison of the number of cattle in the manor and hamlets of Aberffraw, according to an assessment to a ' Fifteenth ' made early in the fourteenth century, ${ }^{3}$ and in the parish of Aberffraw in 1893, according to the Agricultural Returns.

In the fourteenth century there were in all sixtyeight holdings of persons having cattle. Probably there are not as many at the present time. ${ }^{4}$

Only seven of these in the fourteenth century possessed a full yoke of four or more oxen; the rest must, therefore, have joined with others in the ploughing, unless they used horses or cows to make up the plough team.

[^29]$\operatorname{dix} \mathrm{A}$.
${ }^{4}$ In 1890 the number of small agricultural holdings under 50 acres, but excluding allotments, was 43.

The numbers of cattle, horses, and sheep at the crap. I. two dates were as follows:-

|  | $1320-40$ |  |  |  | 1893 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oxen | (valued | at 58.p |  | 137 |  |
| Cows | ( | $38.4 d$. | " | 262 |  |
| Averia, 3 yrs. old | ," | 28.6 d . | " | 38 |  |
| , 2 , | ,* | 28. | " | 91 |  |
| Total of cattle |  |  |  | -5128 | 1,711 |
| Horses . | .. | 5 s. | " | 71 |  |
| Jumenta (Mares) | " | 58. | , | 36 |  |
| Total of horses |  |  |  | -107 | 242 |
| Sheep . . . | , | $6 d$. | , | 735 | 2,913 |
| Total | . $\cdot$ |  |  | 1,370 | 4,866 |

As regards the kinds of corn grown, it has already been seen that the payments of the natiri included wheat, oats, and barley.

On the day when the record above mentioned was made the quantities of these three kinds of corn on hand were as follows :-

115 crannocs of wheat ralued at $28.6 d$. per crannoc.

| 307 | $"$ | oats | $"$ | 28. | $"$ |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 70 | $"$ | barley | $"$ | $18.4 d$. | $"$ |

492 crannocs in all.

It is obvious, therefore, that oats were the chief crop on the Aberffraw manor in the fourteenth cen-

Oats the chief crop. tury.

The total value of the cattle and corn calculated at the above prices amounted to $188 l$.

It is most likely that for purposes of taxation the assessment would be made after harvest before the cattle and corn produce was consumed. Perhaps, therefore, it would be fair to take the total as representing the capital of the tenants in cattle and corn after harvest, and probably there would not be much other capital, for

[^30]Снap. I. otherwise the assessors would have taken care to
repre-
senting the chief part of the tenant's capital.

Value of the
tenants' dues and services.

About one-ninth of the capital.

Only a part of the Prince's income from the manor. include it in their valuation, the fifteenth of which was to be taken as the tax.

What proportion, then, did the value of the dues and services bear to the amount of their capital in cattle and corn thus ascertained?

The value of the dues and services of the tenants of the manor of Aberffraw, according to the Extent of 1294 , roughly summarised, amounted to the following : -


The amount of the annual dues and services was, therefore, about one-ninth of the capital of the tenants in cattle and corn.

This rough estimate, however, must only be taken for what it is worth. For it must be remembered that no distinction is made between different classes of tenants, and that these dues and services were only a part of the income of the Prince from his so-called manor.

The following is a summary of the value of the manor in the Extent of 1294 :-


Adding to this sum the revenue of the Prince from the rest of the cantref in which his royal residence was placed-viz. 65l. 17s. 7 d., towards which free tenants contributed rather more largely than the natici, the total revenue of the Prince from the cantref amounted to $104 l .4 s .6 \mathrm{~d}$. The amount Anglesey. annually received from the three cantrefs of Anglesey was 4832.10 s .11 d .

## VIII. SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE

## AXGLeSEY EXTETTS.

The evidence of the extents of Anglesey taken alone may be summarised as follows :-

The Prince of North Wales had rights, which may be termed Royal rights, of progress, \&c., for himself and his retinue, chief falconer, \&c., over the

Trince's rights of progress, sc. cymwds and cantrefs of the whole of Anglesey, except in those cases in which portions may have been handed over by him or his ancestors to religious uses.

The Prince had his own particular so-called manor, with its palace, courts, and demesne land. His home farm or maerdref', was worked by the so-called villein tenants of Aberffraw living close by his palace.

There were free tenants-some of them free by reason of their office, others free tribesmen settled on the estate-from whom he had money rents in lieu of the old food rents and services.

There were also groups of villein tenants on villein outlying parts of the manor holding in trefgevery like those of the maerdref.

Scattered over the two cymwds of the cantref, were hamlets of free tenants, and other hamlets of villein

Chas.I. tenants, all contributing rents and services, and the latter supplying provisions and day-works. The villein hamlets were apparently held, as a rule, in trefgevery.

A 'manor' in each cymwd, with its courts.

Services not personal, but attached to the holdings.

In each of the other cantrefs or cymwds there was also a so-called manor, with its courts, forming a centre for legal proceedings, as well as for the performance of services and payment of dues. And all the villce or hamlets within the cantref were under the jurisdiction of its courts, excepting those under ecclesiastical exemption from secular services. But it does not appear from the Extents that there were usually outlying hamlets specially annexed to these manors, as in the case of the Prince's own manor of Aberffraw.

Each cymwd or cantref was thus an organised geographical and judicial unit, and where the Prince himself did not occupy the palace, or use it as a hunting lodge in his annual progress, it was probably occupied by a subordinate chieftain; but on this point, as all the rights of the chieftains were transferred in lump to the Prince of Wales, the Extents naturally throw little light.

Lastly a remarkable feature, prominent throughout the Extents, is the emphatic way in which the dues and services of both free and villein hamlets were regarded, not as personal services, but as attached to particular holdings or hamlets, so that they remained untouched either by the confiscations on the conquest or by the depopulation of the Black Death, and continued exactly the same for centuries after the conquest, till they came to be regarded as permanent quit rents, some of which are still col-
lected by the collectors of the Crown revenues under
Chap. I. the Department of the 'Woods and Forests.'

It may be added that the distinction between the free and villein hamlets was so deep and so marked that it was retained long after the conquest, and

They remain unaltered by the conquest. even long after the services of the bond hamlets had become commuted into fixed money rents. Even now, in the annual returns made to the 'Woods and Forests,' in some cases the rents of two classes of holdings, conjecturally, of the free and bond holdings of a district, are not only returned in separate lists, but even collected by officers with different names, the presumably free rents being collected and accounted for by a 'beadle' and the others by a 'prepositus'; the latter being possibly the successor of the land maer of the Welsh codes, in the Latin version of which the word is translated prepositus. ${ }^{1}$

[^31]return of 1892 , from the Manor or Lordship of Harminiog, in Cardiganshire, is an instance of this.


## CHAPTER II.

## THE DENBIGH EXTENT OF 8 EDWARD III. THE WELES AND GAVELLS OF TRIBESMEN.

1. THE VALUE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT.

Chat. 11. Before proceeding to the direct evidence of the Codes and legal treatises-some of them of doubtful dates and authority-it is worth while to examine whether some further facts may not be obtained from the Extents as regards the structure of the tribe itself and the relation of the tribe and its kindreds to the land.

Further evidence required.

The Anglesey Extents have given a pretty clear view of the scattered hamlets, some of them occupied by free tribesmen and others by so-called villani or nativi. They have naturally disclosed the relations of both classes of tenants to the chieftains, and the geographical arrangement of the hamlets in cymwds and cantrefs, rather than the internal structure of the tribe itself.

They have, indeed, disclosed that the free hamlets were occupied by weles and gavells-whatever these may have been-and that their 'heredes' were so and so, but we have yet to learn what a wele was
and what a gavell was, and in what relation each of cras. II. them stood to the tribe or the kindreds of which it was composed.

Can this knowledge be obtained from the Extents? If it could, it might prove an invaluable key to the true understanding of the Codes.

It is worth while, therefore, to examine whether the Extents afford actual examples from which may be discovered what the weles and gavells of the free tribesmen were.

The earliest Anglesey Extents are deficient in detail, and do not supply the information.

The 'Record of Carnarvon,' as we have seen, is much more ample in its details, but it has the great disadvantage of having been made not only after the conquest of Wales, but also after the 'Black Death.' That great pains were taken to fulfil the terms of the engagement that, with certain exceptions, the services of free tenants and other Welsh customs should remain unaltered by the conquest, has been abundantly shown. But the devastations of the Black Death were limited by no such condition, and may well have played haroc with tribal arrangements.

Moreover, the Anglesey and Carnarvonshire district was, we are told by Giraldus Cambrensis, exceptionally agricultural in character, and mar, therefore, have advanced, before as well as after the conquest, further than some other districts on the lines of approach to the manorial system.

What is required, therefore, is a survey of a pastoral district, in full detail, and made before the ‘ Black Death.'

Chap. II. The Extent of the Castle and Honour of Denbigh, ${ }^{1}$

The Denbigh extent gives the required evidence. made in 8 Edward III., seems to be the only one which meets the requirements of the case. It was made before the 'Black Death.' It relates to a mainly pastoral district which continued to a large extent under the rules of ancient custom. It gives the name of every tenant, and has, moreover, distinct reference to the condition of things both before and after the final conquest of North Wales.

It is hardly possible to over-estimate the value of this Extent for the purpose in hand.

The annexed map will show at a glance the geographical conditions of the district.

Broadly speaking, it is bounded by the mountains surrounding the valley of the Clwyd, with its tributaries the Istrad and the Aled, embracing also the valley of the Dulas which enters the sea independently.

The district included in the extent.

This district, like Anglesey, was divided into cantrefs, and each of its two cantrefs was divided into two cymwds. The cymwds took their names from the rivers. The cantref of Rowaynok contained the cymwds of the farther and hither ${ }^{2}$ Aled-Ughalet and Ishalet-and the cantref of Ros contained the cymwds of the farther and hither Dulas-Ughdulas and Istulas.

[^32]

[^33]

## The Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk.

Finally, the single cymwd or half-cantref of Снap. II. Kaymerghe completed the district.
II. THE WELE OF LALWARGHE AP KENDALYK.

The Extent describes the tenants of each villata both before the conquest and also after the disturbances which followed it. ${ }^{1}$

The free tribesmen are called in the survey priodarii, a name which we shall find familiar to the are of fre priodarii. Codes, being a Latinised form of the Welsh priodorion, or proprietors, thus making it clear that in their case the survey is dealing with free tribesmen.

These priodarii are said to hold in weles and gavells.
Turning first to the description of the villata of Wyckewere, now Wygfair, in the cymwd of Ros-Isdulas, it begins by stating that in the time of the Princes before the Conquest it consisted of eight weles or

The villata of
Wygfair occupied by elght neles. lecta, viz. :-

1. Wele Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk (freemen).
2. Wele Moroyth ( $\frac{2}{3}$ freemen, $\frac{1}{3}$ nativi).
3. Wele Pridith Mogh do. do.
4. Wele Breynt
5. Wele Bothleyn all (nativi).
6. Wele Moynou
(These six extended over Wyckewere, and its hamlets Boydroghyn and Kilmayl).
7. Wele Anergh Cuyr Duyon
8. Wele Thleythen
(These two were in the bamlet of Boydroghyn only.)
The first of these weles is that of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk. A summary of its contents is given on the next page in a tabular form, and the exami-

That of Lau-
warghe one of them. nation of this actual example of a wele cannot fail to be instructive.

[^34]The Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk.


Instead of the description of a holding of land with its boundaries we have here what is practically a pedigree, embracing the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk. The numerous successors of each of the grandsons were apparently not all of them great-grandsons at the date of the survey. There had been apparently some admission of outsiders among them, but the extent speaks of a time when such groups embraced true heirs only. (See App. p. 57.)

It will be seen that the whole kindred of the descendants of Lauwarghe to the fourth degree was, or had been, included in the wele bearing his name; the word wele, or gwely, as already hinted, meaning bed, and being accordingly translated by the Latin word lectum.

Lauwarghe himself was probably not alive, and therefore, presumably, the shares of the sons in the kindred were again called weles, and so also of the grandsons if by the death of their fathers they had become heads of households. But in cases where the parent was alive the sub-shares of children, according to the custom of gavelkind, were apparently not called weles, but gavells. At least, this is what the use of the terms seems to suggest as their meaning.

Thus, when we read that the villata of so-and-so consists of so many weles, the meaning seems to be, not that the land of the villata is divided into so many sections or estates, but that it is occupied by so many kindreds, or family groups. And when we read that the wele of so-and-so consists, or consisted when it was held integre, of so many gavells,

Caap. II. we are to understand that it embraced so many subordinate families or sub-households of descendants.

The wele a division of the tribe, not of the land,
holding an undivided share in
the occupa. tion of a district.

The wele, therefore, of the original ancestor is a division not of the land, but of the tribe, and it remains outwardly one unit, with internal subdivisions among sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons; and thus also the subdivisions of the wele are subdivisions of the family group and not of the land.

This being so, the next point arises, what may be the relation of the complex unit to the land? Where and how are the numerous progeny of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk located on land, and how are their possessions or rights described in the Extent?

The answer is that the weles of the progenies of the three sons of Lauwarghe are described as located in the Villata de Wyckewere with its two hamlets of Boydroghyn and Kilmayl. The wele of Lauwarghe originally, and when it was entire, occupied only one-sixth share of the whole villata, and so it did still, as described in the Extent, though now subdivided into the weles and gavells of his descendants.

This original wele of the common ancestor of the great-grandchildren thus held, apparently, an undivided share in the occupation of the district, or villata. And so it did still, though now subdivided into the weles of the sons and the gavells of the grandsons, and each of the latter at the time of the Extent embraced a numerous community originally of great-grandsons only, but since the conquest not strictly confined to them.

Thus classified still under the original vele of Crap. It. Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, a community of a score or two of kinsmen held together as one family group an undivided one-sixth part, or share, in the occupation of the villata of Wyckewere and its hamlets.

This joint occupation by so numerous a body of kinsmen would have been complicated enough had the kindred of Lauwarghe been the only occupants of the villata. But it was still more complicated by the fact that the other five-sixths were shared in the same way in undivided shares, some br nativi, and others by more or less related kindreds, whose ties of blood with the kindred of Lauwarghe and with each other are not disclosed.

It is, perhaps, needful to assume that the actual homesteads, and inclosures round them, may have been held more or less in severalty, but it seems to be clear that, with this exception, the veles or family groups occupied undivided shares in what may be called the common rights of the villata.

This is confirmed by the description of the escheats to the lord, after the conquest, which are carefully recorded. These escheats were not of particular fields or portions of land, but fractions of The escheats were of fractions of rights, not of land. such and such a wele, and such and such a garell. Thus, a fourth part of the gavell of one of the grandsons of Lauwarghe was escheat, and five-sixths of another, and so on, according as fewer or more of the kindred had died contra pacem, or had otherwise forfeited their rights.

The total of escheats to the lord within the villata was therefore an aggregate, not of definite actual areas or acres lying here and there, but of

Char. Il. a series of undivided fractions, which, when put together, amounted to a considerable undivided share in the right of occupation in the whole villata; and so the only way in which an estimate of the lord's share in the villata could be arrived at by the surveyors was by working out the calculation as one of proportion, and then translating the result into acres, thus :-

| The Villata of Wyekewere contains in lands, woods, | Acres |
| :---: | :---: |
| and wastes | 1,072 |
| The Hamlet of Kilmayl . | 160 |
| The Hamlet of Boydroghyn of land, wood, and |  |
| waste | 1,340 |
| Sum total | 2,573 |
| And therefore the share of escheats of the lord by |  |
| true proportion will be Of which are allocated to diverse priodarii of | 1,638 |
| Lewenny and Astred Canon in exchange for their patrimonies in the said villæ, certain proportions of divers tenants in Wyckewere, who have died ' contra pacem,' whose proportions ought to contain 176 acres |  |
| of land, wood, and waste | 6 |

The lord seems ultimately at a recent date to have taken not quite one-third of this estimated acreage into his own hands, in order to let it out in lots of a few acres each to tenants, many of them Englishmen, at money rents on the English system.
and so, therefore, were the weles and gavells.

But the point of importance is that if the escheats were undivided shares of common rights so must also have been the shares of the weles and gavells, of which the escheats were undivided fractions.
III. THE WELES OF CANON AP LAUWARGHE AND PYTHLE AP LAUWARGHE.

Passing now to another example, we find the chap. ir. progenies of apparently two other sons of Lauwarghe located in another cymwd. It is possible that they may be sons of another Lauwarghe, but it is hardly likely, as no distinguishing name is given in the Extent. They may therefore be offshoots from the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, but of this we cannot be sure.

Their progenies are described in summary on the next page, and also those of the other kindreds sharing with them in the villata of Prees.

Following the progenies of each son separately a glimpse may perhaps be obtained of the way in which the family groups were located on land, and shifted according to tribal needs or arrangements.

The progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe were located in the ralley of the Istrad, not only in the villata of Prees, but also in the two other villatæ of Astred Canon and Nanthyn Canon.

According to the Extents of these three villatæ

The villata of Prees.

rights of occupation, and so it was not necessary, according to the Extent, to inscribe all the names of the grandsons of Canon ap Lauwarghe in the survey of Prees, because they were already recorded at length under the heading of Astred Canon. Excepting their share of the tume of Prees they did no other services at Prees. Their services of pastus \&c. were recorded under the head of Astred Canon and rendered there only. But, besides their services, they originally paid $10 s$ s of tune in Astred Canon.

They also held as a family group, with the same internal divisions, the villata of Janthyn Canon with its hamlet of Pennankyng, but in this they owed neither services nor tunc, because it was reckoned as appurtenant to Astred Canom.

The progenies of Pythle ap Lauwarghe, who were also located in Prees, were divided into the eight weles of his eight sons, and held as one family

So also the progenies of Pythle. group one-sixth share in the occupation of the villata side by side with the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe and other kindreds, paying their due proportion of tune; but instead of having a second and a third location in Astred and Manthyn they had a second location in the distant villata of Tebrith and its hamlets in the cymwd of Ros Cchdulas, south of Llanrwst, in the extent of which villata their names were recorded over again in detail.

But the rele of one son described as escheat in Prees is omitted altogether in Telrith. The weles of two other sons are omitted for some reason or other undisclosed, and the veles of the five remaining sons are therefore the only ones recorded

Chap. il. in Tebrith. The entry in Tebrith also contains the statement that ' all the tenants in the said villata and hamlets are free priodarii and not nativi, and they are called wyrion Pythle' (i.e. grandsons of Pythle).

The progenies of Pythle like their kinsmen, the progenies of Canon, paid their contributions of $3 s .4 d$. to the tunc pound of Prees. At the same time they paid 20 s., i.e. the whole tunc pound, at Tebrith, where they had the whole villata to themselves, and also paid services.

The escheats again are of fractions of rights.

The weles: and garell.s bundles of undivided rights.

Turning, as before, to the escheats, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{18}$ part of the gavell of one of the sons of Canon, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gavell of another son, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gavell of another son were escheat to the lord in the villata of Prees. The whole wele of one of the sons of Pythle, who died contra pacem, and $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the weles of the other seven sons of Pythle were escheat, so that in these cases also the escheated shares were fractional proportions' of the undivided rights of the family group.

Thus the conclusion is arrived at that the gavells. of the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe were undivided shares of rights in the several village communities of Astred Canon, Nanthyn Canon, and Prees, and the weles of the progenies of Pythle ap Lauwarghe undivided shares of rights in the villata of Prees and the distant villata of Tebrith. No doubt, as already stated, the kinsmen of each family group may have had the separate use of homesteads and crofts, but with this exception, if the words wele and gavell may be transferred at all from the family group to the holdings, they were substantially to all appearances bundles of undivided shares or
rights of co-aration and pasture in the several chap. If. villatæ.

Nor are these solitary instances. Three of the Other other sixths of the villata of Prees are respectively examples. in the hands of the progenies of the three sons (or rather two sons and a grandson) of Cadugan ap Ostrouth.

The first of the sixths was held in five weles by the five sons of Runon ap Cadugan and besides this sixth of Prees they paid pastus to the Prince in the rillata of Garth Kanannel in the cymwd of Ros Uchdulas.

The second of these three was held by the progenies of Tenyth ap Kendalo ap Cadugan, and besides this sixth of Prees they paid tunc and did service. for what they held in the villatæ of Carueduenuth. Penporghethl, and Dyncaduell.

The third of the three sixths was held by the progenies of Ithel ap Cadugan, and they also had rights in Carveduenuth and originally in Dyncaduell also.

## iv. the wele of rand vaghan ap asser.

The foregoing examples have sufficiently illustrated the position of weles of kinsmen located, along with others, in a single villata. or holding fractional rights in several villatæ. It may be well to add yet another example showing how in some cases a kindred could occupy exclusively several whole villatæ as well as fractions of others. The following will answer the

Example of a rele holding rights of occupa tion of several whole villatz and fractions of others. purpose. The entry in the survey is as under :-

[^35]Chap. II. villæ of the cymwd, and held in the time of the Princes before the conquest, viz.:-

The whole villata of Dennant.
The whole villata of Grugor.
The whole villata of Guylberyn.
The whole villata of Penglogor.
The whole villata of Pennaualet.
Half of the villata of Hendreuenuyth.
One third of the villata of Prestelegot.
One thirteenth part of the villata of Petrual.
And all these said villatre and parts of villatex they held in 4 lecta, viz.:-

> Wele Ruathlon ap Rand'.
> Wele Idenerth ap Rand'.
> Wele Daniel ap Rand'. Wele Kewret ap Rand'.

And there will follow concerning the proportion of tenure and services of every wele and of every one of its gavells in each of the several villatæ seriatim by itself.'

The wele or progenies of Rand' ap Asser was thus subdivided into weles of sons, and each of these again were divided into gavells of grandsons according to the annexed statement. The family group in the eye of the surveyors had become divided into groups of grandsons, and they are described as the priodarii holding the original lectum called wele wyrion Rand' -i.e. the wele of the grandsons of Rand', and wherever they hold, whether whole villatæ or fractions of villatæ, the original lectum or family group is subdivided precisely in the same manner into the same weles and gavells of the sons and grandsons of Rand'. But, again, the subdivisions of the kindred did not imply any actual divisions in the land.

The priodarii of this wele did all their services in the villata of Dennant, and paid their proper propor-
tions of tunc in every villata in which they had Crap. II. rights.

v. the shifting in the location of the kindreds AFTER THE CONQCEST.

Lastly, some additional light as to tribal methods of distribution may perhaps be got from what happened after the conquest.

There had been escheats, e.! in Wyckwere, owing to the death of tenants contra pacem. These escheats threw into the lord's hands the vacant proportions. Henry de Lacy's policy was to extend into the neighbourhood of the Castle of Denbigh the English three-field system of husbandry. Already in neighbouring parishes (Llanriadr and others) the three-field system was at work with its plough-teams

Vacancies by escheat in one villata filled up by exchange fromother villatæ.

Chap. II. and bovates on the English fashion. ${ }^{1}$ To accomplish his object and make for himself an English manor, he excluded the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe from Astred Canon and gave them exactly corresponding rights in Wyckwere by way of exchange. And he acted in the same way in the villata of Llewenny.

When it is considered how complex were the rights of the tribesmen inter se in these cases, and yet how easily the exchanges were made, it becomes clear that the complexity lay in the structure of the kindreds and not in the facts of the husbandry.

These exchanges easily made,
and so might have been under the tribal system.

The cattle and the ploughs of a kindred could be moved with ease from one part of the country to another, and some of them placed in one villata and some in another, even in different cymwds and cantrefs, without interfering with the intricate family rights of the members of the kindred inter se, which easily followed the cattle and the ploughs wherever for the time they might be.

And thus these shiftings and redistributions of the kindreds on the land after the conquest may illustrate the ease with which the chiefs of kindred could move the kindreds and families about under the tribal system whenever changes in population might require it. But they do more than this. They give point and clearness to the conception of the landholding kindreds, each holding together as one family unit with its own tribal rights as against

[^36]other kindreds in this villata or that, and sometimes chap. II. even in different cymwds. They oblige us to picture them as communities of graziers of cattle with rights of grazing by tribal right or tribal arrangement in different parts of the district, each community, with, it may be, its score or two of kinsmen, forming a complex unit, one in its relations to the other kindreds, but nevertheless with intricate internal hereditary and family divisions and rights known intimately, doubtless, to the elders of the kindred, but far too intricate to be of interest to the makers of the Extent.

One point of importance may, however, be gathered from the Extent as regards the family rights of these groups of kinsmen.

It will have been noticed that in all the cases cited the kindred seems to have stopped with the great-grandsons of the common ancestor, of whose wele they held their undivided shares or gavells.

The following passage from the Extent seems to explain this:-

A son of a free priodaur after the death of his father shall give to the lord for his relief, before he possesses his inheritance, 108.

A brother or nephew or cousin within the 3rd grade, and in the 3rd grade, shall give for his relief, after the death of his antecedent, before he obtains his inheritance, 208.

Beyond the 3rd grade there is no right of inheritance amongst them, but the land shall be escheat to the lord for default of heirs. ${ }^{1}$
The importance of this rule in the tribal system will become apparent when the evidence of the Codes is examined.

And turning from the groups of kinsmen to the

[^37]The group went no further than great-grandsons.

The kindreds family groups of graziers.
chaf. II. geographical areas or land-units, called in the surveys villato, in which they had rights-some-

The villatæ were units of occupation. times sole and exclusive, but more often concurrent with other similar groups in fractional shares-we are forced to consider the villata rather as a unit of husbandry and of the grazing of so many cattle than as a 'village community' of the English type.

The numerous progenies of Canon or Pythle ap Lauwarghe obviously cannot all live in every villata in which they have rights and in which their cattle are placed to graze. Where, then, are the homesteads? In which of the villatæ?

It is when we are forced by the surveys to ask such questions as these that we fully appreciate the value of the description of Welsh habits in the twelfth century by Giraldus Cambrensis.

The homesteads easily built and removed.

Summer and winter homesteads.

His statement becomes very significant that the houses of the Welsh tribesmen were not built either in towns or even in villages, but scattered along the edges of the woods. Quite as important is the remark that to his eye they seemed mere huts made of boughs of trees twisted together, easily constructed, and lasting scarcely more than a season. They consisted, he says, of one room, and the whole family, guests and all, slept on rushes laid along the wall with their feet to the fire, the smoke of which found its way through a hole in the roof. ${ }^{1}$ people, had two sets of homesteads. In summer

[^38]duplicate cabins in the summer village on the higher slope of the mountain, the whole of this village being unoccupied in winter.
their herds fed on the higher ranges of the hills and
Сhap. II. in winter in the valleys. So they themselves, following their cattle, had separate huts for summer and winter use, very much as was also the custom in the Highlands of Scotland and is still the case in the higher Alpine valleys.

Dispelling, therefore, from the word villata all ideas which hover around its use as the equivalent of the 'village community,' the picture given by the Extent, taken together with the information of Giraldus Cambrensis, of the scattered pastoral life of the groups of kinsmen becomes much more intelligible. The geographical units called villatee are evidently the fixed and permanent units. The groups of kinsmen and their herds of cattle are the movable elements in pastoral life under tribal arrangements ; and the complexity of rights within the kindred, whilst subject probably to inflexible tribal rules fixed by immemorial custom, follow the kindreds wherever they go and however much they may be scattered.

The meaning and significance of these tribal arrangements can only be fully appreciated when the descriptions given of the structure of tribal society in the Codes and other legal traditions have been studied. But, on the other hand, it will be readily admitted that we should have approached their study at great disadvantage had the previous examination of the actual examples of weles and gavells, furnished by the Denbigh Extent, been omitted.

The kin. dreds and theirherd the morment in tribal life. The villatæ the fixed units.

> VI. THE GWELY IN SOUTH WALES. EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF ST. DAVID's. A.D. 1326 .

Сhap. II.
-

Weles prevalent throughout North Wales.

Extent of the lands of St . David's.

Now that it is known what the weles of the tribesmen were, the question arises over how wide an area mention of them is found in the Extents.

They were not confined to Denbighshire. The Extents contained in 'The Record of Carnarvon' testify to their prevalence throughout Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Merionethshire. The addition of Denbigh nearly completes the number of modern counties included in the district conquered by Edward I., and dealt with by the Statute of Rothelan. This district is that to which the Venedotian Code mainly applied. There is corresponding evidence for South Wales though not of so full and complete a character.

The lands of the Bishop of St. David's were scattered over three or four counties, and an Extent was made of them in the year $1326,{ }^{1}$ which though not nearly so rich in details as that of Denbigh, gives, nevertheless, valuable evidence.

The Extent shows that English influences had long been at work in South Wales and especially in Pembrokeshire. The prevalence of carucates and bovates in the scattered agricultural hamlets of Pembrokeshire and other counties indicates that in many districts the tribal system had given way to settled agriculture and English methods. But in

[^39][^40]the districts through which the Rivers Towy and Teifi Char. II. flow in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, the Extent discloses interesting survivals of tribal holdings of the same type as those of Denbighshire, though not described with the same completeness of detail.

Thus at Keuendeneuyth, in Carmarthenshire ${ }^{1}$ :-

- They (the jurors) say that there are there four lecti, commonly called gwele, and of the first gwele is the stirps (stipes) of Gruff. ap Gilbert, and of the second gwele is the stirps of Isac ap Ithua, and of the third gwele is the stirps of Gronou ap Graylwyn, and of the fourth gwele is the stirps of Cadogan ap Donandwr, and each gwele renders to the lord 28. by the vear at Michaelmas.'

At Henllan, ${ }^{2}$ in Cardiganshire, there was one lectus of which three persons named and their coLecti in Cardiganportioners were tenants. And at $B a n g o r^{3}$ there were four lecti, three of them being called Guely Oyrion so and so, i.e. of the grandsons of the original holder.

In the villa of Landewybreuy, ${ }^{\text {, }}$ the lord had a house, and in what is called the 'Patria de Landewybreuy,' there were, according to the jurors, eight lecti qui vocantur Gwely, and of each of these eight lecti it is stated that there are such and such persons (in all cases but one, three are named), and descendants from them (descendentes ab eisdem). And it is added 'all the aforesaid hold per antiquam tenuram, viz. per ach et Edrit'; i.e. 'by kin and descent,' the Welsh words used for this phrase in the Dimetian Code being ' $o$ ach ac etryt.' ${ }^{5}$

In Garthely ${ }^{6}$ there was only one lectus vocatus

[^41]Grveles of the stirps of so-andso, in Car-marthenshire.

Grelys of three persons and their descendants holding by ancient tenure of ' kin and descent.'

Chap. II. Gwely, and this again was of three persons named et descendentes ab eisdem.

In Llannon, ${ }^{1}$ there was only one lectus, and this also was of three persons cum sequela et descendentibus ab eisdem.

Greles in Breconshire,
and in Gower.

In Glascom in the Archdeaconry of Brecon there were three lecti qui rulgo vocantur Gwele. And each was that of a stirps and descendants from it. ${ }^{2}$

The Bishop of St. David's also had land at Landewy and Langevelach, in Gower, in Glamorganshire. In the latter place there were recorded under the head 'Liberi' seven lecti qui culyo vocantur Gwele. ${ }^{3}$

This evidence of the Extent of St. David's, therefore, extends the mention of these holdings to four counties of South Wales, and there is no reason to suppose that the same system was not once prevalent in other districts of which there do not happen to be surveys.

| 1 Fol. 36 (p.211). | Cambrian Archaological Associ- |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 Fol. $52(\mathrm{p} .291)$. | ation, The Lordship of Gower. |
| ${ }^{2}$ Fol. 51 (p.287). And see partii. p. 192. |  |

[Note.- When the above was written I had not had the adrantage of Mr. Willis-Bund's 'Introduction ' to his valuable edition of this (socalled) Black Book of Saint David's.]


## CHAPTER III.

## THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY.

## 1. NATCRE OF THE EVIDENCE OF THE (ODES AND

 TRADITIONS.Passing now from the firm ground of the surveys to Chap. ini. the more debatable ground of the Codes and the legal traditions classed together in the second division of the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' it is necessary at once to disclaim any attempt to settle or even adequately to criticise the dates or authority of the several MSS or of the traditions out of which they may have sprung.

The surveys have made it clear that upon the conquest of North Wales there was existent, and inextricably interwoven into Welsh polity, a mass of tribal custom which even Norman phraseology and

The facts of the surveys the result of tribal custom. classification could neither force into ordinary manorial grooves nor ignore. And it would be idle to dream that a body of custom of this kind could have been of recent or rapid growth. Rather must it be regarded as an axiom in economic history that a condition of rural polity such as the surveys disclose could not be other than the result of traditional

Chap.iII. and immemorial usage. And when it is considered how tenacious and stubborn was the Welsh adherence to custom, that even long generations of Christian or ecclesiastical influence had failed to Christianise the tribal law of marriage; that (according to the Venedotian Code) 'the law of the Emperor and the law of the Church ' combined could not force Howell the Good to alter tribal custom so far as to disinherit illegitimate sons; and that even Edward I. on the final conquest could not force upon the Welsh tribesmen the law of primogeniture-when this continuity of stubborn tribal habit is considered, it becomes clear that it must have been ingrained in the very structure of tribal society.

Welsh tribal custom survived into the era of codes and surveys.

Instead, then, of entering into critical examination of the dates of MSS. and the authority of the so-called 'Triads' and other legal traditions-which must be left to the labours of the Celtic scholar-and instead of being tempted to exaggerate the antiquity of the evidence, the wiser course in this practical inquiry will be fully to realise that the value of the evidence of Welsh tribal life does not lie in its antiquity. It rather lies in its being the latest and most modern instance in Western Europe of a tribal system which, having held its own till the era of codes and surveys, is unique in the fact that it can be examined in a way no other tribal system of Western Europe can be, excepting, perhaps, that of Ireland.

There is, however, one direct link between the surveys and the Codes which is worth mentioning.

In the Statute of Rothelan (A.D. 1284-i.e. fifty years before the date of the Denbigh Extent of
a.d. 1335) it is stated that upon the final conquest chap.in. of North Wales, Edward I., 'wishing that his newly acquired Welsh lands should be governed under the Teneproper laws, to the honour of God, and that those just received under his rule should be dealt with by fixed laws and customs under his peace . . . caused the laws and customs of those parts hitherto used, to be recited before him and the nobles of his realm, the which having been diligently heard and fully understood, certain of them by counsel of the said nobles were annulled, certain were permitted, and certain were corrected, and also certain others were ordained to be added and enacted.'

Now, there is, in the British Museum, ${ }^{1}$ a MS. of the Tenedotian Code, not by any means the earliest MS. of it still extant, which at the end has a note mentioning Anianus, the Bishop of St. Asaph, who was probably one of the nobles before whom the Welsh laws and customs were recited. And it may well be one of the copies of the Code used before the King and his nobles at Rhuddlan.

The wiser course, therefore, will be to rely chiefly on the mutual support given to each other by the Codes and the surveys. The facts of the surveys are sure. If the Codes contain a body of customary law which in natural course would produce the condition of things described by the survers, their authenticity will be substantiaily confirmed. And, again, if the legal traditions of more doubtful date and origin supply reasons, in tribal sentiment or in more or less archaic details of custom, for the legal

[^42]Ceap.iII. rules of the Codes, they themselves become evidence which cannot be wholly ignored.

It camot be doubted that they throw valuable light of this kind, and all we can do is to use discrimination and not to rely too exclusively upon them in cases where they stand alone or seem to contravene better evidence with a suspiciously unhistoric motive.

The reader will readily discriminate between the different sources of evidence quoted from the 'Ancient Laws of Wales,' references to the Codes being so stated, whilst those to the other miscellaneous documents and the Latin versions of the Codes are cited under the heading 'Welsh Laws.'
> 11. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TRIBENMEN AND NONTRIBESMEN PRIMARILY ONE OF BLOOD.

Tribesmen and nontribesmen.

At first sight there is great confusion in the classes of men mentioned in the Codes and Welsh laws-of tribesmen, uchelurs, breyrs, and innate boneddigs; of non-tribesmen, taergs, aillts, alltuds, \&c. The confusion vanishes only when the principle is grasped underlying the constitution of tribal societr. And this principle would apparently be a very simple one if it could be freed from the complications of conquest and permanent settlement on land and from the consequent inroads of foreign law, custom, and nomenclature.

To begin with, there can be little doubt that the ruling principle underlying the structure of tribal society was that of blood relationship among the free
tribesmen. No one who did not belong to a kindred
(hap.iII. could be a member of the tribe, which was, in fact, a bundle of Welsh kindreds. Broadly, then, under the Welsh tribal system there were two great classes, those of Cymric blood and those who were strangers in blood. There was a deep, if not impassable, gulf between these two classes quite apart from any question of land or of conquest. It was a division in blood. And it soon becomes apparent that the tenacity with which the distinction was maintained was at once one of the strong distinctive marks of the tribal system and one of the main secrets of its strength. There were, indeed, if we may believe later tradition, in South Wales at least, bridges across the gulf, but they were such as to emphasise the hard fact of its existence and to prove not only its breadth but its permanence.

Two of these bridges may be alluded to at once by way of illustration :
(1) Residence in Cymru, according to the traditions of S . Wales, made the descendant of a stranger at last a Cymro, but not until continued to the minth generation. ${ }^{1}$
(2) Intermarriage with innate Cymraeses generation after generation made the descendant of a stranger an innate Cymro in the fourth generation. In other words, the original stranger's great-grandson, whose blood was at last seven-eighths Cymric, was allowed to attain the right to claim the privileges of a tribesman. ${ }^{2}$

Such being the width of the gulf which divided

[^43]Chap.ini. the stranger in blood from the free-born Cymro, the next point to be noticed at the outset is the nature of the disabilities which resulted from the want of tribal blood.

Dis. abilities of strangers in blood.

It is remarkable that these disabilities were apparently not so much the subjection to severer services and dues, as the natural results of the want of the blood-ties which bound tribesmen together into so tightly moulded a community.

The evidence of a stranger in blood was of no worth against a Cymro. ${ }^{1}$

Whilst every tribesman, head of a household, must have his 'sword and spear and bow, with twelve arrows in the quiver' always ready at a moment's notice, weapons were not allowed to any stranger or aillt until the third descent. ${ }^{2}$ And neither horsemanship nor hunting were free to any but an innate Cymro. ${ }^{3}$

Without his lord's consent the taeog was to be neither a scholar, a smith, nor a bard. ${ }^{4}$ But if the lord were passive till he were tonsured as a scholar, or till he had set up a smithy of his own, or till he had graduated in song as a bard, he was free. ${ }^{5}$

The traditional reason for these disabilities, given in the Triads, was to keep the stranger class unorganised and weak; 'to guard against treachery and ambush '; 'to prevent the plotting of strangers and their adherents, lest alltuds (i.e. strangers) obtain the lands of the innate Cymry.' ${ }^{6}$

[^44]These explanations are naturally not given in the Chap.III. Codes, but on such a point even a later tradition is not without value.

Lastly, there were special and exceptional cases in which kinship was allowed to the stranger in blood-exceptions which prove the rule, because they rested upon the hypothesis that an artificial tie of blood had been formed which might fairly be considered as strong as the natural tie.

The following typical examples are taken from a MS. of additional laws of about A.D. $1400 .{ }^{1}$ Whether ancient tradition or indicating later relaxation of the strictness of tribal rules, they are equally instructive :-

If a person be killed and his kindred shall not obtain right. and his kinsmen proceed to avenge their kin, and they deem their number small, and if a stranger come and proceed along with them upon the privilege of kin (ar vreint car), ssying 'I will go along with you to avenge your kin (car), and will take upon myself the slaughter and blood of him whom ye also shall take upon yourselves,' and they kill one or more, on account of their kin (kar), such stranger obtains the privilege of kin (ar oreint kar).

If his travelling companion sees his enemies and says to him 'See'st thou? See'st thou yonder men who will have me? and since there is no kin (kar) with me they will have me cheap!' says his stranger companion, 'I will fight along with thee, and I will take upon myself the blood of such as thou shalt take upon thyself,' and he escape because of that, that stranger acquires the privilege of a kin (kar) to him.

If a person be condemned to lawful wager of battle, either for land and soil. or for any crime, and he should dread in his heart entering into personal combat, and a stranger should arise and say to him. ' I will go in thy stead to combat,' and he should escape thereby, such stranger acquires the privilege of a brother to him, or nephew, the son of a sister (nei vab chwaer) to receive galanas, or to pay it for him.

[^45]Chap.ill. Now, in all these cases the word for kin is car or

The kin. shattered person. kar, and so, in the reverse case of a tribesman losing or forfeiting the privilege of kin, he became a carshattered or kin-wrecked person-a person who had broken his kin and put himself for a time or in part into the position of a stranger in blood. ${ }^{1}$

It would seem as though the tie of kin was a tie of nature, too strong to be broken for ever, except in extreme cases. In one sense, 'once a kinsman, always a kinsman.'

The following is from the Gwentian Code :-
Three persons hated by a kindred: a thief, and a deceiver, and a person who shall kill another of his own kindred; since the living kin (car) is not killed for the sake of the dead kin (car) everybody will hate to see him."

Such a criminal as the last-mentioned, whose crime, being within his own kindred, was outside the law of galanas or 'blood-fine,' could not be slain. He might, however, with the consent of his kindred, relinquish the privilege of kinship. In such a case,

[^46]father, among whom land is shared : a brother, a cousin, and a second cousin.
'Three relations (tri char) on the side of the mother who share land with their relatives (ac eu car): an uncle, the mother's brother, a mother's cousin, and a cousin to himself, where a person shall obtain land by maternity.

- There are three car-shattered persons (tri char llywedroc): son of an alltud by a Cymraes; a taeog accepted into the service of a person; and a wealthy person by inheritance on the land of another.'
${ }^{2}$ II. xxxix. 54.
he became a kin-wrecked man, but the rights of the descendants of such a person, including their rights of inheritance in the tribe, were protected for nine generations-' till the ninth man.'

Thus, according to the Venedotian Code : -

> If the ninth man come to claim land his title is extinguished, and that person is to raise an outcry that from being a proprietor (priodawr) he is hecoming a non-proprietor, and then the law listens to that outcry, and assigns to him a shelter 'or a free tribesman's kyfran or portion?, and that outcry is called "an outcry over the abys8.'

What is this terrible 'cry over the abyss' but the last despairing cry of a kinsman on the point of losing for ever, for himself and his descendants, his rights of kinship?

By one thing alone could the tie of kinship be absolutely broken-riz. by a man's life being forfeit for crime, such as murder of his chief of kindred.

How the tie of kin. ship broken. For such a criminal the gulf was opened and could only be bridged by his descendants, as in the case of strangers in blood, in the ninth generation, or by repeated intermarriage with innate Cymraeses in the fourth generation. ${ }^{2}$ And this only in South Wales!

A traitor to his kindred was banished from Cymru, and 'it was required of every one of every sex and age within hearing of the horn to follow that exile, and to keep up the barking of dogs, to the time of his putting to sea, until he shall have passed three-score hours out of sight.' ${ }^{3}$

Thus, though the makers of the medirval surveys naturally described the two classes of tribesmen and

[^47]Chap.III. non-tribesmen as 'free' and 'bond,' or as liberi and villani or nativi, according to English manorial usage, the real dividing line between them under the tribal system turns out to be one of blood. It is true that the Welsh versions of the Codes themselves occasionally use the loan-word 'villein' in a vague sense for the stranger classes, but they never seem to forget that the real missing link between them and tribesmen is the tribal one of blood.

Grades of blood relationship belong to early stages of the tribal system.

The comnection of both classes with land introduces, no doubt, at first sight, a complicating element into tribal society ; but one strong indication that the tie of blood relationship had always lain at the root of tribal society from its early stages before it became finally settled upon land is the fact that when anything like proprietorship of land came into the tribal life it was forced, like everything else, into a tribal mould.

Whatever, for example, may have been the relation of the kindreds to land in the Denbigh Extent, the weles and gavells were moulded by blood-relationship. And we have seen that they were limited by the rules of tribal inheritance within the range of the fourth degree of descent.

The meaning of these rules and grades of kinship in the structure of the tribal community will next be examined, and then the light so gained may be thrown upon the further consideration of the position of the stranger classes.

## III. THE KINDRED, AND ITS ORGANISATION.

The innate boneddig ${ }^{1}$ was the fully freeborn Cymro, of pure Welsh blood, both on his father's and his mother's side, without mixture of kin. ${ }^{2}$

He belonged to a kindred (cenedl). And the The tribe Cymric tribe or nation was a bundle of such kin a bundle dreds bound together by blood relationship, by dreds. common interests, and by the necessity of mutual protection against foreign foes.

The whole tribe or federate country (gwlad) under the head king (brenhin penraith) was regarded as the supreme kindred (cenedl benbaladr). ${ }^{3}$

This acknowledgment of a common country and supreme kindred, whether a late or early conception, had this result : that a Cymro was a Cymro wherever he went within its bounds, whilst preserving his particular privilege in respect to land only in the territory of the chief of kindred under whom he was born. Even the kin-shattered man, therefore, had not necessarily ceased to be a free tribesman, and was not without a country. ${ }^{4}$

Confining attention at present to the lesser kindreds, the kindred proper, which was an organised unit, having its own 'chief of kindred' (pencenedl)

The kin-
dred to the ninth degree of descent. and other officers, was the kindred embracing the descendants of a common ancestor to the ninth degree of descent-i.e. the same number of generations as that through which the stranger in blood

[^48]Canp.iII. must pass before he became a Cymro under the tribal rules of South Wales.

The chief of kindred.

According to the Yenedotian Code, the chief of kindred must not be either a muer or canghellor of the Prince, but an uchelwr of the country, and his claim must not be by maternity. He was entitled to $24 d$. for every woman brought by marriage into the kindred, and $24 d$. from every youth admitted by him to the kindred. ${ }^{1}$

And he had to pay $1 l$. yearly ${ }^{2}$ to the lord, or higher chieftain, to whom he was thus placed in a semi-feudal relation.

He was assisted by other officers. The Gwentian Code mentions as indispensable the representative (teispan tyly), the avenger of the kindred (dialwr) and the avoucher (ardelwr). ${ }^{3}$

Organisation of the kindred.

The Triads thus enlarge upon the organisation of the kindred :-

Three indispensables of a kindred: its chief of kindred (pencenedl), its avenger (dialwr), and its representative (theisbantyle).

A chief of kindred is to be the oldest efficient man in the kindred to the ninth descent, and his privilege and office are to move the country and court in behalf of his man, and he is the speaker of his kindred in the conventional raith of country and federate country, and it is the duty of every man of the kindred to listen to him, and for him to listen to his man.

The avenger of a kindred leads it to battle and war as there may be occasion, and he pursues evil-doers, brings them before the court, and punishes them according to the sentence of the court and judgment of the country.

The representative is the mediating man-in court, and in congregation and in combat, and in every foreign affair. He is to be one of the wise men of the kindred by raith of chiefs of households (penteuluoedd) in the kindred, and be a coadjutor

[^49]with the chief of kindred in every raith and convention of Chap. ILI. country; and he is to be elected by the raith of his kindred to the ninth descent by lot, i.e. by tacit vote. ${ }^{\text {b }}$
We are reminded, therefore, that the organisation of the kindred existed for defence and border warfare, as well as for the maintenance of legal rights.

If the Venedotian Code mentions the semi-feudal relation of the chief of kindred to the lord or higher chieftain, it would seem from the Triads representing early or later tradition (whicherer it may have been) that a kind of semi-feudal relation was established

Every kinsman to be a 'man acd kin' to the chief of kindred. also between the chief of kindred and the men of the kindred.

Three indispensables of a chief of kindred: being an efficient man, being the eldest of the efficient men of his kindred to the end of the ninth descent, and being the chief of a household (penteulu), or a man with a wife and children by legitimate marriage; and every one of the kindred is to be a 'man' and a - hin' to him (yn wr ac yn gar iddo). ${ }^{2}$

This tradition seems to be corroborated by the statements of the Codes, but with the curious difference that, as we shall see, in the Codes the 'lord' takes the place of the 'chief of kindred,' suggesting' (as often happens) that the later traditions sometimes hail from an earlier stage in tribal life than those described in the Codes.

Be this as it may, the next point arises, how and when the entrance into the kindred and the establishment of this relation of mun and kin took place.

Beginning with the ('odes, a distinction must be drawn between the reception of a son into the kindred and the accession of the son to the full rights of a tribesman in the kindred.

[^50]Chap.iII. As to the first, according to the Venedotian Code, in the case of a legitimate child the proof of kinship

Form of reception into the kindred.

The young tribesman attains his rights at fourteen. on the introduction of the child into the kindred was the oath of the mother in the church where the burial place of her people was, she placing her right hand on the altar and the relics, and her left hand upon the head of her child. ${ }^{1}$

The ceremony of formal reception is thus described in the Venedotian Code :-

Thus a son is to be received as of kin. The father himself may receive him, after he is lawfully aftiliated to him by his mother. If the father be not alive, the chief of the kindred with six may receive him, and those of the best men of his kindred, and thus he is to be received; the chief of the kindred is to take the hands of the child between his own hands, and give him a kiss, for a kiss is a sign of affinity, and then [the others are to do the same]. If there be no chief of kindred, twenty-one of the best men of the kindred, and the man who shall be in the place of the lord (argluyd) is to take the boy by his right hand, \&c. ${ }^{2}$

As regards the attainment by the young tribesman of his full tribal rights, the following is from the Venedotian Code : -

From the time when a boy is born until he shall be fourteen years of age, he is to be at his father's platter, and his father lord (argluyd) over him, and he is to receive no punishment but that of his father, and he is not to possess a penny of his property (da) during that time only in common with his father. . . . . since his father during that time is to be responsible for him for everything.

At the end of fourteen years the father is to bring his son to the lord (argluyd) and commend him to his charge, and then the youth is to become his man, and to be on the privilege of his lord; and he is himself to answer for every claim that may be made on him, and he is to have his $d a$ (cattle or property).

From that age [fourteen] onwards, he is of the same privilege

[^51]with an innate boneddig, for he has no privilege excepting his CHAP.III. descent, as he ascends not to the privilege of his father till his father's death. ${ }^{1}$
The completeness of the transference of the obligation for the son's maintenance from the father to the lord is shown further by the fact that on the son's death after attaining fourteen and leaving no

Fathernot to maintain him after fourteen, but child, the lord succeeds to his $d a$, and not the father. ${ }^{2}$

And in another passage in the Venedotian Code it is explicitly stated that at fourteen a son is to be taken by the father to his lord, to become a man to the lord, and further it is added, ' and from that time forth he is to be supported by his lord.' ${ }^{3}$

A later development of this relation is mentioned in another treatise, ${ }^{4}$ which states that a son is to become a lord's man at fourteen, and at twenty-one take land from his lord and do military service for him. This was a very natural extension of the older tribal relation, which, though one of kinship, also involved the common duty of mutual defence, and also participation in marauding enterprises in which kinsmen fought together under their chief of kindred.

Returning, however, from military service to the right of maintenance, which the young tribesman claimed at the age when he also became liable to

The lord or kindred supplies him with cattle \&c. discharge the tribesman's duties, many cases of analogy in the Codes would seem to imply that it involved his being supplied with cattle by his lord

[^52]Chap. III. or by the chief of kindred. Whether agriculture or the grazing of cattle were the tribesman's means of support, oxen would be needed for his ploughing, and a share in the common herd of cattle to provide the meat and milk required to maintain him and his wife and children.

He had them from the tribe, not from his father.

If so much as this be stated in the Venedotian Code, or is to be implied from its statements, the fact is very important, for whether it were the lord or the chief of kindred who had to supply the young tribesman on coming of age with his full tribal rights and cattle, it shows that he got them somehow from the tribe or kindred-i.e. from the lord, whose man he had become, whether a territorial lord over several kindreds, or the chief of his own kindred. In either case, his lord was the representative of the tribe or of the kindred ; which of the two hardly can matter much. If the lord were the higher chieftain of the greater kindred of which the tribesman's kindred formed a part, the young tribesman might well be man and kin to him as well as to the chief of his own kindred.

The Triads call the bundle of rights his cyvarwys.

Passing now to the evidence of the Triads, as already said, it is quite possible that on such a point they may record earlier traditions than the Codes. Their statements do not seem, on the whole, inconsistent with the facts just learned from the Codes. Greater stress, however, is laid upon the bundle of tribal rights acquired by the tribesman at the age of fourteen. They present some graphic details, and, without leaning too much upon them, they may at least be listened to.

This bundle of rights is designated throughout the Triads by the curious symbolic word cyvarwys.

The word is not unknown to the Codes, and is Chap.iin. used as an equivalent of what may be called a 'perquisite' or 'customary payment.' Thus, the chief of the household, who is a son of the Prince (brenhin), was to receive three pounds yearly from him as his cyrarus, ${ }^{1}$ and the chief of song a bridal cyvarus from every maiden on marriage. ${ }^{2}$ But the word is used in the Triads apparently for the provision granted by the tribe to the tribesman on his coming of age. It is thus defined in the Triads :-

Three cyvarwys of an innate Cymro: five free erws; cotillage of the waste (cyvar gobaith) ; and hunting. ${ }^{3}$

And from another passage we learn that something like this was the usual provision made under the tribal system for those who had a right of maintenance, and who were therefore called priodorion. This passage shows that not only the 'innate Cymro,' but also the men of the Court by reason of their office, and, further, the clergy, had this right of

The usual provision for maintenance. maintenance, and so were priodorion.

There are three sorts of proprietors (priodorion), viz. :(1) Those naturally born free, (2) men of the court, and (3) clergy. The first of the three are called laics, and to them pertains the privilege of location upon land and cyvarwys ... To the third class, or the clergy, there pertains the privilege of teachers, with an allowance to each from each plough within the district where he shall officiate as an authorised teacher, and his land of privilege free to him and his maintenance secured to him under the privilege of his services. ${ }^{4}$

Another triad describes the usual methods by which maintenance was provided for such persons, and applies the word cycarwys to the maintenance:-

[^53]Chap. III.

Given to the tribesman on coming of age.

From three things are those who have free maintenance (trwyddedogion) to obtain their cyvarwys: (1) 5 free erws; and when that by any circumstance is not available, then (2) from a plough penny; and when that is not available, then (3) from a spear penny, or a spear charge, regulated by the occasion from every household of the kindred. ${ }^{1}$
Finally, the Triads confirm the Codes in stating that the innate Cymro attained his cyvaruys, or bundle of tribal rights, on coming of age :-

Three persons who pay ebedive without land; (1) a boy under 14, for it is then he is to enter upon cattle (da) of his own and do service; (2) an innate boneddig; and (3) a cyvarwysed man. ${ }^{2}$
Another triad is as follows :-
Three original privileges of every native Cymro (and also under the name of Cymro is included the Cymraes) :-(1) $C y$. varwys and fruition of five free erws under the privilege of his origin as an imnate Cymro ... (2) The privilege of bearing defensive arms . . . and (3) The privilege of raith under the protection of his chief of kindred: and at the age of growth of beard they are bestowed on a Cymro, and upon a Cymraes when she shall marry. ${ }^{3}$
If this passage means anything, it surely means that even during the lifetime of the parents the 'privileges of every Cymro' (including the cyvarwys of ј free erws, \&c.) attached to the son on his coming of age.

This, as we have seen, is consistent with the Venedotian Code, though the latter makes no mention of the 5 free erws, and does not apply the word cyvaruys to the bundle of rights which the new tribesman acquires when he becomes the acknowledged man of the chief of kindred or the higher lord.

Lastly, there is obviously something in this gift of the means of maintenance by the lord or the
${ }^{1}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 200.
${ }^{2}$ W.L. XIV. iii. 2.
${ }^{3}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 65.
chief of kindred to the youth on his coming of age, involving an idea or principle very much like that of inrestiture. He becomes 'man and kin' to the chief The of kindred, and, entering thus upon a tribesman's responsibilities, he is invested by right with the cyraruys or donation of the necessary provision for his tribal maintenance and the fulfilment of the tribesman's duties. Is it not possible that there may be something in the cyraruys which is trpical of the ceremony of tribal investiture?

If it be permissible on this point to travel outside the lines of the Welsh laws, there is a passage in the story of Kilhuch and Olwen, which is significant of the almost feudal character of the ryraruys. Kilhuch confesses that he is not yet of an age to wed, but yet he wants Oluen for a wife. His father tells him, 'That will be easy for thee Arthur is thy first cousin (ceu!nderre). Go therefore unto Arthur, and ask him to cut thy hair, and ask this of him as a eyuaruys.' Then he goes to Arthur, and Arthur tells him he will give him whatever cyluruys he may ask for. The youth thereupon asks him first to dress his hair. And Arthur takes ' a golden comb and scissors, whereof the loops were of silver,' and he dresses his hair. Then Arthur asks him, 'Who art thou? For my heart warms unto thee, and I knou that thou ar't come of my blood.' He recognises that he is a first cousin (keuynderu), and promises to give him whatever he may ask for. Lastly, the youth asks for Olwen as his cyvaruys. ${ }^{1}$

[^54]tion of land given by a brenhin to his man as a cyvaruys. W.L. X. xi. 17, and W.L. SI. i. 1.

Connected with tonsure, in the story of Killhrech and Olreen.

Carp.iII. How easily the submission to tonsure, as the outward acknowledgment of rightful service to a chief of kindred on becoming his man, and the receipt thereupon of a cyvarwys from the lord might grow into something rery much like the homage and investiture of feudal knighthood!

We shall see by-and-by that tonsure was the ceremony whereby a stranger in blood became the aillt or tonsured servant of a lord. But the point here is the connection of tonsure with the recognition of kinship, on the youth becoming 'man and kin' to a chief of kindred.

Kilhwch goes to Arthur, and demands tonsure and his cyvarwys, not only because Arthur is King, but also because he is of his own kindred, and probably also the chief of kindred to him. And the whole story turns on Arthur's recognition that the youth is of his kin. It would seem, then, that there was a tonsure for kinship and another tonsure for service, and most likely a distinction between the two.

Earlier instance of tonsure connected with kinship.

Another, and perhaps older, illustration of the ceremony of tonsure, as the recognition of kinship, is found in the story related by Nennius of Vortigern and Germanus. Vortigern's son, whom he tried to fasten upon Germanus, at the suggestion of the latter, and to the great disgust of the former, takes a razor and scissors and comb to his real fatheri.e. Vortigern-saying to him, 'Thou art my father; shave and cut the hair of my head.' ${ }^{1}$

These traditional stories seem to add some colour

[^55]to the suggestion that, in this matter at least, the Triads represent an older tradition than that of the Codes.

To sum up the evidence, it would seem, then, from the passages quoted from both the Codes and Triads, that the kindred included the descendants of a common ancestor to the ninth degree, and that this kindred was bound together not only by the tie of a common ancestry, but also by the tribal relation of each one of its members to the chief of kindred. This relation was that of being a 'man' to the ' chief.'

Nor had this relation apparently, in its origin, anything to do with land. It seems to belong to the essence of the tribal system itself, for the chief of kindred of the district was not necessarily the territorial lord.

And further, if we may trust the Triads, the chief of kindred had, besides those mentioned, duties of a paternal character to the young tribesmen. The youths who became his men at the early age of 14 not only became entitled to maintenance, but also to training. And this, we are told, was not merely military. The organisation of the kindred extended also to the provision of education in the domestic arts necessary to pastoral and semi-agricultural tribes.

[^56][^57]The young tribesman entitled to maintenance and training.

Chap. III. Associated with the chief of kindred, and actThe seven ing as his coadjutors, were the seven Elders of the elders the guardians of kinship.

Duties of the ideal chief of kindred. kindred, ${ }^{1}$ whose duty it was to preserve by tradition the knowledge of kinship, and who had an important place in judicial proceedings, inasmuch as it was their duty, according to the Codes, to swear to the kin of anyone claiming by kin and descent. ${ }^{2}$

These Elders were 'Chiefs of Households' within the kin, and were an important representative element in the organisation of the kindred. From one passage in the Triads, it would seem that the official representative of the kindred was in some cases chosen by them.

Three raithmen of a kindred-its chief of kindred, its seven elders (henadur) as coadjutors of its chief of kindred, and its representative (teisbantyle), and he is a man of the kindred who shall be chosen on account of his wisdom and his literary know. ledge, and to be chosen by lot or silent vote, of the elders of the kindred. ${ }^{3}$

Finally, another of the Triads sums up the duties of the ideal chief of kindred in these graphic words :-

Three things, if possessed by a man, make him fit to be a chief of kindred:-That he should speak on behalf of his kin and be listened to, that he should fight on behalf of his kin and be feared, and that he should be security on behalf of the kin and be accepted. ${ }^{4}$

> IV. THE GRADE OF KINDRED TO THE FOURTH DEGREE OF DESCENT.

The Denbigh Extent has made us familiar with the group of descendants down to great-grandchildren,

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' W.L. XIII. ii. 162. ' 'W.L. XIII, ii. }162
2 D.C. II. viii. 63, and G.C. 4 Id.
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II. xxx. 23.
or the fourth degree of descent, holding together as a tribal unit of occupation under the name of the wele, or gwely, of the common ancestor.

And the Denbigh Extent also supplied the statement that inheritance was allowed no further than to the fourth degree. If there were no kindred within

Grade of kindred to the fourth degree. that limit the lord took the inheritance by escheat.

Now, there is a passage in the Venedotian Code, headed 'The Law of Brothers for Land,' repeated in substance by the other Codes and also in other legal treatises, to the following effect :-

Thus, brothers are to share land between them: four erws to every tyddyn (homestead). Bleddyn, son of Cynvyn, altered it to twelve erws to the uchelwr and eight to the aillt, and four to the godacog; yet, nevertheless, it is most usual that four erws be in the tyddyn.
[Here follows the measure of the erw.]
If there be no buildings on the land, the youngest son is to diside all the patrimony (trew y tat), and the eldest is to choose, and each in seniority choose unto the joungest.

If there be buildings the youngest brother but one is to divide the tyddyns, for in that case he is the meter: and the youngest to have his choice of the tyddyns : and after that he is to divide all the patrimony : and by seniority they are to choose unto the youngest : and that division is to continue during the lives of the brothers.

This refers to the division among brothers ; but the family holding was not broken up by it, because the division was not final. The sons of the brothers did not claim per stirpes. They were first cousins, and had the right to claim an equality of shares per capita.

Applied to land, in the Venedotian Code.

Division among brothers, and again among cousins percapita.

[^58]Chap.1II. This refers to the equalisation of the shares of the

Final division among second cousins per capita. grandchildren who are first cousins. But still the family holding is not broken up. Yet another division is provided for, to take place, when, presumably, all the grandchildren are dead. Then the greatgrandchildren or second cousins finally divide equally per capita.

And if second cousins should dislike the distribution which took place between their parents, they also may co-equate in the same manner as the first cousins : and after that division no one is either to distribute or to co-equate. Tir givelyave is to be treated as we have above stated. ${ }^{1}$

So also in the other Codes.

In the Dimetian Code the same rules of division are stated as follows:-

When brothers share their patrimony between them, the youngest is to have the principal tyddyn, and all the buildings of his father, and eight erws of land, his boiler, his fuel hatchet, and his coulter, because a father cannot give those three to any but the youngest son, and though they should be pledged they never become forfeited. Then let every brother take a homestead (eissydyn) with eight erws of land, and the youngest son is to share, and they are to choose in succession from the eldest to the youngest.

Three times shall the same patrimony be shared between three grades of a kindred, first between brothers, the second time between cousins, the third time between second cousins; after that there is no propriate share of land.

After there shall have been a sharing of land acquiesced in by co-inheritors, no one of them has a claim on the share of the other, he having issue, except for a sub-share when the time for that shall arrive. Yet whosoever shall not have any issue of his body, his co-inheritors, within the three degrees of kin from the stock are to be his heirs.?
Now, without inquiring at present whether the description of family rights contained in these pas-

[^59]sages was primarily applicable to actual ownership by a family of particular land in the modern sense, or whether it applied rather to the tribesmen's shares or rights of occupation, grazing, and co-tillage in the land of the tribe such as belonged to the weles of the Denbigh Surrey, there must surely be a close connection between these weles or arrelys and the tir guelyaurc of these passages.

They describe the internal rights of a family holding of whatever kind it might be. And certainly they seem to describe exactly what is necessary to explain the care which is taken in the Surrey to keep up the memory of the successive dirisions of the original wele. In the case of the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalck, there is, so to speak, the external undivided unity preserved, but there is also recognised the family division of the wele of a presumably dead ancestor into the several weles of his sons. And, further, the division of these into the weles or gacells of their sons, and so on. And if we ask why the original wele remains externally undivided all the time till the family has grown into a community of a score or two of descendants, this passage from the Codes clearly seems to explain the reason. So long as any one of the sons were alive there was to be no internal or family division among grandsons ; and until all the sons and grandsons had died no final dirision was to take place among greatgrandchildren. And, therefore, the original wele remains the external unit, till the division between great-grandsons has been effected.

The note holds together till the final division of rights per capita takes place.

That the wele occupied the homesteads, with land round them, in quasi ownership in severalty

This explains the reles of the surveys embracing great grandsons.

Chap.III. -i.e. in the exclusive occupation of the several families-and also held undivided shares in the pasture and waste of the district in common, along with other weles, does not necessarily prevent the term tir gwelyauc from embracing the whole.

Be this as it may, for the present we may conclude that, in the case both of particular ownership and tribal occupation of land, the limit of kindred to the fourth degree of descent was an important practical limit of family or tribal rights.

It has already been incidentally mentioned that the rules regulating the attainment of tribal rights ly the stranger in blood bring us again to the same limit or grade of kinship. The descendant of the stranger in blood, whose entrance into tribal rights has been hastened by repeated intermarriages, becomes a priodawr and the founder of a new stock or kindred in the fourth degree of descent.

Here, then, is an important line or limit marking a distinctive grade of kinship, and inclosing, as it were, a distinct group of kinsmen embracing greatgrandchildren or second cousins.

For what other purposes did it exist?
There were three distinct responsibilities which were confined within this special grade of kinshipi.e. they were not extended to the wider kindred.

Three things which are not to be done by any further of kin than a second cousin :-(1) To pay saraad with such as shall have nothing of their own to pay; (2) To pay cattle without surety with the son of an alltud by a Cymraes beyond the third kin; (3) To mutually uphold and keep each other's share with property and oath by those beyond second cousins, for [land] is not to be shared further. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ W.L. XIV. xxi. 21, and see V.C. II. xxxi. 10.

Now, what were these three things ?
First. The saraad was the payment for insult or injury short of homicide. Kinsmen as far as second cousins had joint responsibility to the injured person for the crimes of their kinsman, and no kinsman beyond this grade was responsible unless the crime amounted to homicide. ${ }^{1}$

Secondly. Kinsmen within this grade were responsible for the marriage of daughters. ${ }^{2}$ As a rule, the daughter did not inherit family land with her brothers, but she was entitled to her gucraddol, or marriage portion, ${ }^{3}$ which she took with her on marriage, and took back again in case she separated from her husband within seven years. After that, if the marriage continued, the husband and wife were jointly entitled to the combined chattels of both. ${ }^{4}$ But the kinsmen's duty to her did not stop here.

She was entitled to be married to a free tribesman, so that her sons might have full tribal rights.

But if this responsible family group gave the daughter away to a non-tribesman, who was not a member of a family or kindred, so that her sons could not receive inheritance in tribal rights from their father, then they had not fulfilled their responsibility to her.

The sons could in such a case have no inheritance from their father, and, therefore, tribal law gave them

[^60]great-grandmothers and her four great-grandsires are yet alive; it is needful that I take counsel of them.'
${ }^{3}$ One half of a brother's share in chattels, I.C. II. i. 64.
${ }^{4}$ D.C. II. xviii. 26.

Chap.III
Payment of suraad.
of diugh.
Marrying ters.

Chap.III. an inheritance by right of maternity in the family

Right of their sons by maternity in some cases. rights of the group who had given their mother away to a stranger. ${ }^{1}$ And, further, as the sons would have no kinsmen on their father's side to be responsible for them, tribal law threw the responsibility on the mother's kindred. They became responsible for the saraad of their kinswoman's sons in case they committed crime. This was called 'payment of cattle without surety,' because (as explained in the Venedotian Code) no bond of suretyship was necessary, and 'with cattle every payment formerly was made.'2

The third point refers to the final division of tir gwelyawc among second cousins. After this there was no further joint occupation, but only what may be described as joint warranty of their common title in case it was disputed.

In all three cases the limit of responsibility was that of the fourth degree of descent-the greatgrandsons of a common ancestor-and there was no liability beyond it.

## v. THE GRADE OF KINDRED TO THE SEVENTH AND ININTH DEGREES.

Middle grade to seventh degree of descent.

Passing now from the definite grade of kindred confined to the fourth degree or second cousins, it is at first sight more difficult to comprehend exactly the meaning of the middle grade of kindred-i.e. the grade extending to the seventh degree of descent, or fifth cousins, which was the grade primarily re-

[^61]sponsible for the crimes of kinsmen as regards Chap.iII. homicide.

There is some confusion in the Codes in the primarily method of counting degrees of relationship and in liable for the statements of the exact degree of kinship to be for homiincluded in this middle grade; but there seems to be reason in the inference that the limit of the seventh degree of descent in the case of responsibility for homicide was based upon the principle that the greater crime involving hearier payments necessitated a wider area of responsibility.

But the full responsibility of the kindred for the galanas, or payment for homicide, did not end with kinsmen within the seventh degree of descent.

In the Venedotian Code there are two versions as to the payment of galanas.

The first ${ }^{1}$ makes the amount fall in thirds. One- How the third fell on the murderer and his father and mother, if living; two-thirds fell on the kindred. Of the first third the murderer and his children were to pay two parts, and his father and mother the other part-the father paying twice as much as the mother.

The kindred on whom the other two-thirds fell was defined as 'from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent.'

This exhausts the galanas, but there is still the further provision of the 'spear penny,' in aid of the murderer, in case of his default in paying his share. The deficiency in this case was to be gathered from the kindred beyond the seventh descent, or fifth

Kindred to the ninth degree liable for ' spear penny' in aid of the murderer.

[^62]Chap.III. cousins. And thus, according to the Venedotian Code, it was to be obtained:-

The murderer is to take a servant of the lord, carrying with him a relic, and wherever he shall meet with a person beyond the seventh degree of kindred, let such person take his oath that he is not descended from any of the four kindreds from which the other is descended, and unless he take that oath, let him pay a spear penny, and if he take the oath he is to be exempted. ${ }^{1}$

## The other Venedotian version may be summarised

 thus:-The first third [of the galanas] falls on the murderer, and the mother and father and brothers and sisters with him, for those persons would receive with him a third of the galanas if paid to them, therefore let them pay so with him . . . (one-third of it on the mother and father, one-third on brothers and sisters, and one-third on the murlerer, . . . males paying two parts and females one).

The remaining two-thirds fall on the kindred (two parts of it on the kindred of the father and one part on the kindred of the mother).

The kindred for this purpose is confined within the seventh man thus:-

| 1. Brother | $=$ braut. |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2. 1st cousin | $=$ keuenderu. |
| 3. 2nd cousin | $=$ keuerderu. |
| 4. 3rd cousin | = keẏuẏn. |
| 5. 4th cousin | $=$ gorcheýuen. |
| 6. 5th cousin | = gorchau. |
| 7. Son of 5 th | = mab gorcha |

## And then it continues :-

If the murderer have nuthing to pay with, it is right to give him a spear penny to assist him, and that shall be paid to him from the seventh man onwarls: those seven men are brother, first cousin, second cousin, third cousin, fourth cousin, fifth cousin, and a kinsman, son of a fifth cousin, ${ }^{2}$ and since relationship can be no further counted, let them beyond that pay to him a spear penny. And the manner he shall collect a spear penny from the men he may find of his kindred, when he may not know how to

[^63] fifth cousin, 'the father pays the
galanas for his son, and the son does not,' V.C. III. i. 20.
trace his relationship to them, is to take a relic he may credit, and when he shall meet with one of those men, let him take his oath that he does not orginate from his kindred, or pay him a spear penny. ${ }^{1}$
There is here the same confusion in the description of the fifth cousin or seventh in descent-i.e. the great-grandson's great-grandson; but one thing is clear: there are men of the kindred beyond what we have called the middle grade of kinship, and these are to contribute the spear penny up to the ninth degree in descent-otherwise who are the remoter kindred by whom the spear penny is to be paid?
vi. the reason of the three grades of kinship.

The importance of the recognition in the kindred of the three grades of kinship makes it worth while to attempt to get a glimpse, at least, of the circumstances or facts of human nature out of which it arose. So remarkable a feature in the structure of tribal society must surely have had a rational and natural basis.

Without travelling outside the knowledge derived from the Welsh laws, there are indications that it had a connection with the hearth.

There were two tribal chieftainships within the cenedl, or kindred-viz. that of the pencenedl and that of the penteulu. Under each chief of kindred were many chiefs of households.

The hearth (aeluyd or ayluyt ${ }^{2}$ ) was the centre of the house, and it was sometimes metaphorically used for the household.

Three hearths (aelwyd) that are to make satisfaction on account of such as shall not be under fealty to the lord-that of the father, of an elder brother, and of a father-in-law. ${ }^{3}$

[^64]Chap.ili. The hearth, moreover, was the symbol of family ownership and inheritance. The right of the son on succession was to uncover the hearth of his father

The right of daden. hudd, or to the uncovering of the parental hearth.

The significance of the covering and uncovering of the hearth. or ancestor. The legal term for the recovery by an ejected son of his patrimony was dadenhudd, or the uncovering again of the parental hearth. The term was a graphic one. The fire-back-stone, set up against the central pillar of the hut supporting the roof (pentanvaen $=$ head-fire-stone), was a memorial or witness of land and homestead (tir a thyle), because it bore the mark of the kindred upon it. ${ }^{1}$

There are three dead testimonies concerning land: (1) The witness of heirs as far as great-grandchildren (gorwyron), or beyond, is credited in court as to what they heard from their ancestors. . . . (2) Elders of country and kindred (gwlad a chenedl) as to what they know of kin and descent; (3) The fire-backstone of the plaintiff's father, or of his grandfather, or of his greatgrandfather, or others of his kindred. . . . ${ }^{2}$

And the covering and uncovering of the fire had and has still a picturesque significance. ${ }^{3}$

Whether the fire were of wood or turf, the hearth was swept out every night. The next thing was to single out one particular glowing ember-the seed of fire-which was carefully restored to the hearth and covered up with the remaining ashes for the night. This was the nightly covering of the fire. The morning process was to uncover the 'seed of fire,' to sweep out the ashes under which it was hid, and then deftly to place back the live ember on the hearth, piling over it the fuel for the new day's fire. This was the uncovering of the fire, which thus from year end to year end might never go out. Anyone who has seen the process performed

[^65]on a Celtic hearth will understand the natural
C'hap. III. transition in the mind of the Welsh poet, Henry Vaughan, in his lines on 'Sleep,' from the highflown metaphor-

The pious soul by night Is like a clouded star. . . .
to the more homely one-
Though sleep, like ashes, hide My lamp and life. ...
and see at once the symbolic significance as well of the dadenhudd as of the curfeu.

The suggestions of folk-lore might lead us further to recognise important religious superstitions connected with the hearth. But even without this the picture of the son, or grandson, or great-grandson, ${ }^{1}$ returning perhaps from exile to claim the paternal homestead by uncovering again the ancestral hearth, is graphic and solemn enough to emphasise for us The the importance of the Cymric hearth as, in a very literal sense, the focus of the rights of kindred.

There is significance also in the bar to the realisation of the exile's rights to the full recovery of his patrimony, resulting from the existence on the land where such was the case of 'occupiers who had grown into priodorion,' and founded a family hearth by occupation for four generations. In that case the returning exile could not oust the actual occupant. The fire-back-stone of the new occupant's family had

[^66][^67]Crap.iII. acquired the mark of a kindred upon it, and the two claimants must therefore divide the land between them. ${ }^{1}$

Returning, then, to the consideration of the three grades of kindred from the point of view of the family hearth, the first two had obviously a foundation in the nature of things, inasmuch as they were bounded at one end by the reach of the actual sight and at the other end by the direct memory of a single person.
The The eldest living ancestor, as chief of the houseancestor may live to see great. grandsons, and remember his own great-grandfather.

Memory and sight may well cover seven genera. tions, hold occupying the principal homestead or tyddyn, and seated by the ancestral hearth, might well live to see growing up around it a family group extending to great-grandchildren.

On the other hand, looking backwards to his own childhood, he might well recollect his own greatgrandfather sitting as head of the household at the same hearth, just as his great-grandchildren would some day hereafter remember him. Thus the extreme natural reach of the knowledge of the head of the household might cover seven generations. If during this period the purity of the family blood had been duly preserved, the kindred within these natural limits would be a perfect kindred.

Finally, if family tradition went back two stages farther than actual memory, then it would embrace the larger kindred to the ninth degree of descent. And as, in all probability, amongst the various household hearths there would always be present and conspicuous that of the head of the kindred, the patriarch under whose chieftainship the groups of

[^68]lesser kindreds were united into the larger kindred, tradition thus backed by outward and visible signs would, in the course of ages, easily invest such tribal rules with the force and strength of customary law. ${ }^{1}$

That rules and grades of kinship thus ingrained in the structure of tribal life should be applied as Force of tribal custom. they arose to other matters, such as the attainment by strangers in blood of the privilege of kinship or the acquirement of proprietary rights in land, and finally that the same rules should mould the form of land ownership, when at last attained, into a family holding by the kindred within the fourth degree-all this was natural enough. And when we realise how customary law in these further matters became thus, in the same way, formed and fixed by the force of constant repetition, backed by household and tribal tradition, we begin to understand the tenacity with which the tribal system everywhere was able to maintain itself through centuries and even thousands of years.

The tribal system of blood-relationship never grew old. It was always forging new links in an endless chain, and the links of kindred always overlapped one another.

Were Welsh tribal law historically isolated and alone, the account thus given of the structure of

The hearth connected

[^69]township adjoining Wrexham, a gentleman of estate gave his name as 'Humfridus ap Robert ap Will'm ap Rob't ap David ap Griffith ap Robert.' In this case seven generations were represented in one man's name.

Chap. III. tribal society and of the grades of kinship might
with religious superstitions and the worship of ancestors. perhaps be accepted as sufficient in itself, and the hints given by folklore of still deeper religious and superstitious foundations for the sacredness of the hearth and the sacredness of kinship might perhaps be passed by unheeded.

But when the comparative method forces upon us the fact that in other tribal systems the hearth is surrounded with sacredness as the centre of the worship of ancestors, and that connected with that worship there were found in various tribal systems strangely similar grades of kinship, to shut our eyes to this wider view would be wilful blindness to facts which may throw back, even upon the Welsh tribal system, an important side-light.

When it is considered how large a part tribal religions have played in history by giving to tribal societies the tough tenacity which has enabled them to live through so many ages and to make and maintain such conquests as they have done-conspicuously in the case of the Jews and the Arabs-we may be thankful even to folklore for reminding us that the ties of Cymric blood relationship may have had religious sanctions long ago obscured, if not altogether obliterated by Christian and ecclesiastical influcnces.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUCTURE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY-(continued).
I. THE RELATION OF THE GRADES OF KINDRED TO THE OCCUPATION OF LAND.

The foregoing considerations lead to the recognition Chap. IV. of the extreme antiquity of the grades of kinship.

Rooted in the nature of things and moulded by the the necessities and circumstances of tribal life, they in | grades of |
| :---: |
| kinship | their turn seem to have controlled and forced into ancient. their mould any new elements which might enter from time to time within the range of tribal life and require adjustment to it.

One of these new elements was undoubtedly encountered, earlier or later, in connection with occupation and ownership of land.

The passage from nomad life to settled occupation involved the absorption, so to speak, of the new element into the tribal system.

It is not easy to attain a clear idea of how the problem as to land was solved.

It is easy enough to assume that whatever of

How they affected the tribal relation to land. land ownership grew up in the tribe was tribal ownership. But this, if strictly true, would carry us

Сhap. IV. but a very little way into a correct understanding of the relation of the tribesmen to land.

It will not do to bring into the question the modern democratic view of a society in which equality of rights and shares settled every question. Such an idea was foreign to the tribal system.

Careful consideration of such facts as turn up incidentally in the surveys and Codes affords the only chance that a true understanding can be reached, and, after all, survivals of apparently conflicting principles may suggest that there is a misunderstanding somewhere needing further light to dispel it.

In the first place we must try to get behind the political or juridical arrangements, the cantrefs and the cymwds with their so-called manors in which representatives and officers of the chieftain maintained a kind of lordship approaching to the territorial and manorial type.

The kindreds to the ninth and fourth degree

[^70]Recognising the existence of this element and its importance and possible antiquity as belonging to the question of chieftainship (to be hereafter considered), and confining attention to the strictly tribal occupation of land, we have first to recognise the relation to land of both the greater kindred to the ninth degree and the lesser kindred to the fourth degree of descent.

The kindred to the ninth degree acknowledging a common ancestry and organised into a social or political unit under its chief of kindred, its representative, and its seven elders, was a clearly defined and separate group.

Within each of these greater groups of kindred were the lesser groups of kindred to the fourth
degree of descent, embracing great-grandchildren or Снар. IV. second cousins, each group forming a separate wele or progenies under the name of the great-grandfather, whether dead or alive, until the final division among second cousins when all the sons and the grandsons should be dead, and in the meantime divided into sub-weles or gavells, as the case might be, under their several heads of households or eldest living ancestor.

It is these lesser groups or weles that the Denbigh Extent represents as the tribal units of land occupation.

Were each of these weles the sole occupants of the district in which their members lived and in which their cattle were pastured, the head of the wele might be regarded as the landowner of the district, and a ring fence might be thrown round the land occupied by him and his wele. He would be the tiviawg or landed person in whom was vested the tribal proprietorship of the land occupied by the numerous members of his wele.

The fact that he and his wele were only joint participants with other weles in the tribal rights of the district in undivided shares (as in the case of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk) ought not to blind our eyes to his position as a landed proprietor in the sense that in him were vested the tribal rights of his wele, so far as regards land occupation.

Externally viewed, he might well be regarded as proprietor of the tyddyns or homesteads occupied in severalty by himself and his descendants along with their crofts and cattle yards, and, besides these, of undivided and extensive rights of grazing jointly with other veles. When he, the original head of the

Crap. IV. wele, was dead, his sons would be the proprietors of the occupation rights of the same original wele, and when the sons were dead the grandsons would succeed them in the proprietorship.

Thus in the Denbigh Extent Tehrith was occupied by the wele of 'the grandsons of Pythle,' and so, too, the priodarii holding the original wele of Rand' ap Asser were grandsons, and the wele was called by the surveyors ' wele wyrion Rand'.'

Thus whoever was the head of the wele was a landed person and also a chief of household. And by virtue of this double position his so-called 'privilege' was that of an uchelwr or breyr, and in South Wales he was as such a judge in the court of the cymwd or cantref.

Every landed person (tiriawg) being a chief of household ( penteulu) is a judge in South Wales. ${ }^{1}$

And again:
A breyr is an innate landed person (tiriawg) who is a chief of household (penteulu) with privilege of a court of justice. ${ }^{2}$
The uchelur or treyr, sometimes called a gwrda, was a man of responsibility, bound to afford protection and to secure justice out of court as well as in it.

If a man take a woman clandestinely and bring her to the house of an uchelwr to sleep with her, and the grorda do not take security for her amobr, let him pay it himself. ${ }^{3}$

It seems to be clear, then, that the uchelwr or breyp was a 'landed' person and a chief of household, and privileged in respect of his position as

[^71]${ }^{3}$ V.C. II. i. 29.
such. Every chief of kindred and every chief of a wele was thus in the sense above mentioned a landed and privileged person, with certain land occupied by himself and his family in severalty in tyddyns and crofts as well as with large grazing rights over sometimes several and distant districts.

At the same time, extensive rights of grazing implied wealth in the shape of herds of cattle. The possession of numerous oxen implied the lion's share in the produce of co-aration. All this went with his being the landed head of his wele, and made him a powerful man. And yet, at the same time, his landownership, such as it was, could not be an absolute ownership. It was subject to the rules of 'tir gueliauc.'

To take an actual case, it would seem that under these rules Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was during his life the only landed person in his wele. In him its rights as to land were vested.

He was the tiriaug or landed head and uchelur of the wele, and the only one. All his descendants, members of the wele, were, as to the land, in a subordinate position, with cyvarwys or rights of main-

The other members of the rele were not joint tenants, or ' landed persons, but had only rights of maintenance. tenance only, which rights of maintenance, however, implied rights of grazing cattle in the common herd and co-aration with fellow tribesmen.

The young tribesmen of Lauwarghe's wele who on coming of age during his lifetime became innate boneddigs did not, however, become joint tenants with Lauwarghe, whether sons, grandsons, or greatgrandsons. Their tribal rights were, not to a joint share in the land, but to that maintenance which was the common portion of every kinsman. They

Chap. IV. claimed this maintenance, along with their kinsmen, ${ }^{1}$ 'by kin and descent,' as members of the kindred in the lifetime of their fathers, and the only doubt seems to be whether they claimed it from the head of the lesser or the greater kindred-whether from Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk as head of the wele in which they were born, or from the chief of the greater kindred to the ninth degree, or from the territorial lord of the district.

The innate boneddig claimed his maintenance from the kindred by 'kin and descent,' and not from his father.

Every innate boneddig on coming of age had, as we have seen, to become the man of a lord (argluyd) as well as man and kin to the chief of kindred. Till he was 14 his father was his lord (argluyd), ${ }^{2}$ and maintained him at his own platter, but after that age his father was his lord no longer, and the lord (argluyd) whose man he had become had to give him his maintenance. If Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was an uchelwr it seems probable that he may have had cast upon him as head of the wele, and argluyd of his man, the obligation of providing out of his tribal herds the necessary cattle for his maintenance as well as the tyddyn and the usufruct of the ' five free erws ' which made up his cyvarwys.

Be this as it may, the new tribesman claimed his maintenance as a member of the kindred, 'by kin and descent,' and not by inheritance from his father.

There is a mysterious meaning hidden apparently in the word tref, which would help to clear our vision if it could be itself made transparent.

The phrase for patrimony is tref $y$ tat, suggesting that the son got it from his father's property

[^72]and not from that of the kindred. The word for Chap. iv. kin is car, and the use of the word cartref in the following passage seems to imply that what the new tribesman got as his cyvarwys came from the kindred.

> Three things without which there cannot be a home: a separate cartrev, privilege of country and kindred, and cyvarws secured by social compact (cymmrawd).'

All these three things the tribesman got by virtue of his membership in the social organism of the kindred and not by inheritance from his father.

But over and above these things that belonged to every tribesman as an innate boneddig he had a prospective right of possible succession to his father's or his grandfather's position of privilege as

He ascends to his
father's privilege as a landed person on his father's death. a landed person and the chief of his wele. When he attained to this it was not by ' kin and descent' from the kindred. In the words of the Venedotian Code he had to 'ascend ' to it, and he might live and die without ever attaining it. The passage already quoted from the Venedotian Code, which states that the son at 14 who is an innate boneddig has no privilege except his descent, as 'he ascends not to the privilege of his father until his father's death,' states further, ' and no one is a marchog [i.e. a horseman or knight] until he shall ascend.' ${ }^{2}$

What is the meaning of this addition? It gives us incidentally another mark of the position of the uchelur or breyr, distinguishing him from the subordinate tribesmen of his wele. His military dignity when the tribesmen go to battle is

[^73]Crap. IV. marked by his fighting on horseback, whilst the subordinate tribesmen mostly fight on foot.

Giraldus Cambrensis describes the nobiliores as riding to battle on horseback, whilst the greater part of the people go to battle on foot. ${ }^{1}$

The nobiliores could hardly be other than the uchelwers and breyrs, who are described in the Venedotian Code as horsemen, just as Cæsar describes the upper class of tribesmen in Gaul as equites.

So that it becomes clear, on the one hand, that the innate boneddig during the lifetime of the common ancestor of the wele to which he belonged remained in a subordinate position with rights of maintenance only, claimed 'by kin and descent,' as a member of the kindred. On the other hand, his succession to the position or property of his father by inheritance he could claim only by dadenluddi.e. by uncovering the family hearth and not by kin and descent. ${ }^{2}$

## II. THE PROPERTY OF TIIE INDIVIDUAL TRIBESMAN UNDER THE CYMRIC TRIBAL SYSTEM.

In trying to realise a condition of things quite alien from anything within the experience of modern life it is always needful to guard against misconceptions arising from the ignorance of some material fact, perhaps too common to be mentioned, and only to be known by accident or inference.

An examination of the evidence of the Extents and the Codes has apparently shown that, setting

[^74]aside the possible introduction into the tribe from outside of ideas of private property in land which hardly belong to the tribal system, sufficient of purely tribal arrangements remained at the time of the Extents and the Codes to enable a fair judgment to be formed of the character and structure of tribal society and its connection with the occupation of land.

So far as relates to the tribal occupation of land, the main facts elicited by the foregoing inquiry seem to be that the bundle of rights which approached most nearly to ownership were vested in the chiefs of kindreds and the heads of the family groups called weles, whilst the common herd of tribesmen were in the subordinate condition of possessing only the cycaruys or right of maintenance.

The importance of this conclusion lies in the fact that it gives us a valuable economic point of comparison with other tribal systems, proving that the Cymric tribal system, in its primitive form, belonged to an early stage of economic development.

It can hardly be doubted that the Welsh ueles resemble in their structure much more closely the ' patriarchal family' than what is known as the 'joint family' with its joint ownership under a chief who is only primus inter pares.

It seems to belong to the more archaic of the two systems.

Now, it has always been one of the mysteries even of the Roman patria potestas how the individuals under it, including all unemancipated sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons and their wives, were provided for.
canp. Iv. Sir Henry Maine, in his lectures on Ancient Law

Maintenance under the patria potestas. The peculium of its subordinate members.

The peculium of the Cymric innate boneddig. many years ago, suggested that the representative ownership of the head of the patria potestas ' must have been co-extensive with a liability to provide for all the members of the brotherhood out of the common fund.' ${ }^{1}$ If in the case of slaves under the patria potestas there grew up by degrees the recognition of the peculium, how much more should not something like private property have become recognised in the sons and their descendants!

It is worth while to examine further, in the light of this suggestion, into the question of the $d a$ or chattels of the individual tribesmen in Wales.

The fact that the payment of galanas was distributed amongst the kindred in stated proportions shows that they had individual property, probably mostly in cattle, wherewith to make payment.

The fact that in the Denbigh Extent the tunc payable by the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was distributed among the sub-weles and gavells composing it points in the same direction.

The fact that on the marriage of a daughter half a brother's share of the chattels was given with her guaddol confirms the same thing.

Let us follow these chattels given with the wife as her guaddol, and see in what it consisted.

If a man take a wife by gift of kindred and leave her before the end of seven years, let him pay her agweddi to her. ${ }^{2}$
. . . If she be left after the end of seven years, let there be an equal sharing between them, unless the privilege of the husband entitle him to more.

[^75]husband on consummation of her marriage. Dimetian Code, II. viii. 73.

If they be separated by death everything is to be equally Crap. IV. shared between them. ${ }^{1}$
In the Venedotian Code the property to be divided is defined as 'everything belonging to them.' "

The wife is to divide and the husband is to choose of the things which the law shall not share between them.
Certain things were specially named as to be Division given to the husband and certain other things to the wife.
between husband and wife.
The swine to the husband and the sheep to the wife, [or] if there be only one kind they are to be shared.

If there be sheep and goats, the sheep to the husband and the goats to the wife. . . .

Of the children, two shares to the father and one to the mother : the oldest and youngest to the father and the middlemost to the mother.

The honsehold furniture is to be thus shared.
All the milking vessels except one pail go to the wife.
All the dishes except one dish go to the wife.
The wife is to have the car and the yoke to convey her furniture from the house.

The husband is to have all the drinking vessels.
The husband the riddle, the wife the small sieve.
The husband the upper stone of the quern, the wife the lower.
The clothes that are over them to the wife; the clothes that are under them to the husband . . .

To the husband the kettle, the bed coverlet, the bolster of the dormitory, the coulter, the fuel axe, the auger, the settle, and all the hooks save one.

To the wife the pan, the trivet, the broad axe, the hedge bill, the ploughshare, all the flax, the linseed, the wool, the house bag with its contents except gold and silver (which are to be shared).

If there be webs, they are to be shared.
The yarn balls to the children (if any); if none, then shared.
The husband is to have the barn and all the corn aboveground and underground.

The hasband the poultry and one of the cats, the rest to the wife.
The provisions are thus to be shared :
To the wife the meat in the brine and the cheese in the brine ; and after they are hung up to the husband.

[^76]Chap. IN.
innate boneddiy is a dairy farmer.

To the wife the vessels of butter in cut, the meat in cut, and the cheese in cut.

To the wife as much of the meal as she can carry between her arms and knees from the storeroom into the house. ${ }^{1}$

That this description of the sharing belongs to the ordinary married tribesman seems to be clear, as the statement goes on to say:

> If the husband be privileged, let him show his privilege before the sharing, and after he shall have obtained his privilege let there be a sharing as we have said above.

This description of the chattels of husband and wife is graphic evidence of individual property in chattels on the part of the ordinary tribesman who has no privilege, i.e. is not an uchelwr, or a landed person.

As there is no mention of the cattle which presumably were the main part of the $d a$ of the tribesman and of the guaddol of the wife, they were presumably equally divided. The mention of the ploughshare and omission of mention of the oxen wherewith the five free erws of the husband's cyvarwys must have been ploughed, and with which he joined with his fellows in coaration, confirm this conclusion.

But whatever may have been the rights in these respects of husband and wife, it is clear that the household of the married tribesman was that of a little dairy farmer with separate homestead, chiefly engaged in making butter and cheese; but with a car and yoke of oxen for carrying and ploughing, with corn crops growing on his five free erws, as well as corn in the bin which, for household use, was

[^77]ground by the quern, or at the chieftain's mill, into chap.iv. flour.

And thus his maintenance was not provided by his sharing in a common meal, or receiving doles in money or in kind from the common purse or produce of the kindred, but the result of his own labour and use of the cattle and cyraruys which was received as his tribesman's right on his coming of age and assuming a tribesman's responsibilities.

It would seem, therefore, that his $d a$ and his cyvaruys were the nest-egg, as it were, of his peculium, and that he might become rich or poor by his good fortune and his thrift or the want of them.

Be this as it may, the lesson to be learned is, no doubt, that the possession of a peculium of private property in cattle and chattels was not inconsistent with the Welsh tribal system even in the archaic stage of the 'patriarchal family' or gively.

His
cyrarirys the nest egg of his pectulium.

There is an example of the same thing under the Hebrew patriarchal system so apt that it may well be used as an illustration.

It occurs in the story of Achan and his stolen wedge of gold, given in Joshua vii.

So Joshua rose up early in the morning, and brought Israel by their tribes; and the tribe of Judah was taken.

And he brought the families of Judah; and he took the family of the Zarhites.

And he brought the family of the Zarhites man by man; and Zabdi was taken.

Zabdi is the first individual named, and he thus was probably the oldest living ancestor and head of a household (LXX oiкоs)-i.e. he was the great-

Char. IV.
grandfather, head of his gwely. What follows, therefore, reveals the interior of the Hebrew household.

And he brought his household man by man; and Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, was taken.

Achan, therefore, was the grandson of Zabdi, the chief of the household.

The guilt of Achan was acknowledged.
When I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight [i.e. a Greek maneh in weight], then I coveted them, and took them; and behold they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it.

Achan, therefore, was a married tribesman with a tent of his own; he was a little farmer with a family of sons and daughters who were great-grandchildren of Zabdi the chief of the household. He possessed also a peculium of cattle and chattels.

And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had; and they brought them unto the valley of Achor. . . . And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day.

The wife is not mentioned. She presumably went back to her kindred.
III. THE APPLICATION OF THE GRADES OF KINDRED TO MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRIME.

Each tribesman surrounded by a halo

The organised kindreds under the chiefs of kindred and the gwelys occupying land forming groups round which metaphorically a ring fence might be drawn,
containing respectively kindred to the ninth and to chap. iv. the fourth degree, must not be confounded with the relations who to the fourth, the seventh and the ninth degree, were liable for the saraad and
of mutual responsibility for crime. galanas.

The kindred as a whole was indeed responsible for the crimes of its members to the kindred whose member had been slain or injured. But within the kindred, as we have seen, the payment fell upon the actual slayer and his nearest relations.

Each tribesman is individually the centre of concentric rings of relationship extending to both paternal and maternal relatives within certain degrees, and as he lives and moves amongst his fellow tribesmen he carries, so to speak, around him a halo of responsibility, shading off as the degrees of relationship become more distant. Every tribesman is surrounded by others who are responsible for him in various degrees, and each of whom has his own particular halo of responsibility surrounding him. All within his particular halo are in different degrees liable for his frolics and his crimes, and he is reciprocally liable for each one of theirs in settled proportions.

Thus the whole society is knit together by an infinite number of crossing and intersecting threads of mutual guarantee and liability, from the meshes of which no tribesman can escape.

Even if the tribesman should emigrate beyond the bounds of the district of the kindred or lordship to which he belongs, he does not thereby cut the thread of liability.

Ohap. IV. Whoever shall pay galanas, if the whole of his kindred be in the same country (gulat ${ }^{1}$ ) with him, full payment is required of him by the end of a fortnight; if the kindred be scattered in several other countries a delay of a fortnight is right in respect to each country. ${ }^{2}$

This rule, however, does not seem to have prevailed as between the four greater divisions of Wales.

Should an innate boneddig of Powys be in Gwynedd, or one from Gwynedd be in Powys, and become subject to galanas, and his family kindred should not be in the country (gulat) with him, although many relations should, it is right for him to pay galanas, and to bring these along with him . . . and it shall be shared according to the number of his kindred that may be in the country. ${ }^{3}$

The liability extended to maternal relations and so bound kindreds together.

The liability has already been mentioned, not only of maternal relations, but also of sisters and female cousins, to assist in the payment of galanas. The result must have been to bind together, not only individuals, but kindreds also, by the ties of a common liability.

At first sight it may seem strange that females should be liable at all, but a moment's consideration will show that it was in harmony with the position of women in other respects under the tribal system. We have seen that the daughter, no less than the son, ceased to be supported by the father on attaining the age of puberty. She, too, had her separate right of maintenance under tribal arrangements, and if she married she was entitled to her gwaddol. Rights and obligations generally go together.

Why women paid galamas.

And if it be asked why had women this position in the kindred, the answer is not far to seek. It is found in an exceptional case, in which there was no

[^78][^79]liability, viz. when it had ceased to be possible for a Chap. Iv. woman to have children.

A woman does not pay spear-penny, for she has not a spear, but her distaff only, neither do clerks pay it; and a woman does not pay galanas if she make oath that she shall have no more children, neither do clerks pay it: and it is not paid by a boy under fourteen years of age. ${ }^{3}$

Another version has it thus:
And females and clerks shall pay it (galanas) unless they deny that they shall ever have children, for they shall pay for their children.

Here, then, is the reason why women had their place in the arrangements of the kindred. It was in right of their children, and because they might have children, that their place in the kindred was reserved. So long as it was possible for them to have children they were necessary links in the chain of consanguinity. Without them the chain would lose its continuity.

The mutual responsibility of kinsmen for saraad and galanas, graduated according to nearness of kin to the murdered man and the criminal, reveals more clearly than anything else the extent to which the individual was bound by innumerable meshes to his fixed place in the tribal community-the extent to which, under the tribal system, individual freedom was sunk in the solidarity of the tribe.

That this solidarity had its origin in the necessities of defence from the wrongs of other and rival kindreds is strongly suggested by the fact that the payment of galanas did not apply within the kindred.

[^80]Carf. IV. The murderer of a kinsman had committed a

No galanas within the kindred. The murderer outlawed. wrong within his kindred. It was not a case for the payment of galanas. The passage from the Gwentian Code has already been quoted which states that the hate of the kindred will follow the murderer who cannot be slain. 'Since the living kin is not killed for the sake of the dead kin, everybody will hate to see him.' ${ }^{1}$ As we have seen, he became a kinwrecked man, and fled like an outlaw to seek safety and maintenance as a stranger and a suppliant wherever shelter could be found.

The payment of galanas was therefore a matter between two kindreds. It was accordingly exacted in solemn form, at the time of the Codes, through the territorial lords who were the representatives of civil authority.

The period for galanas is a fortnight after being summoned for each lordship wherein they live, to apportion the payment, and twice that time for exacting the payment and to assemble them to pay it. And every lord is to have the exacting third in his own lordship. At three periods and in three thirds the galanas is to be paid: two periods for the kindred of the father and one for the kindred of the mother; because two thirds fall upon the kindred of the father, and therefore they are to have two periods. At the first period for the kindred of the father to pay one of their thirds, they are to have the oaths of one hundred of the best men of the other kindred, that their relation is forgiven. And at the second period, on their paying their second third, they are also to have the oaths of another hundred men of the other kindred that their relation is forgiven, and those of the best men of the tribe; and at the third period the kindred of the mother are to pay their third ; and then they are to have the oaths of a hundred men of the other kindred, that their relation is forgiven; and everlasting concord is to be established on that day, and perpetual amnesty between them. ${ }^{2}$
Thus the galanas was a judicial arrangement of a

[^81]${ }^{2}$ Venedotian Code, III. i. 16.
casus belli between kindreds. At the time of the Crap. Iv. Codes it was no longer what it may have been at first, The the subject of bargain between two kindreds. It had become a matter of tribal law. The amount was fixed, and the exaction was made by the higher between kindreds. judicial authority representing the tribe or nation of the Cymry. There was thus, so to speak, the intervention of a kind of international law and authority superseding the lynch law or blood feud between the kindreds. How early in tribal history this intervention may have existed cannot be known, but, whatever its origin, it added much, doubtless, to the solidarity of tribal society.

> IV. THE GRADES OF ARISTOCRACY IN THE KINDRED AS MARED BY THE 'GALANAS.'

The rules of saraad and galanas not only bear witness to the solidarity of the tribe, they also bear witness to the existence of grades of aristocracy within the tribe, and even within the kindred itself.

They prove that under the tribal system the structure of society was rather that of aristocratic gradations of rank than of equality in the modern democratic sense. The Cymric tribes were conquering tribes, treating the conquered or alien races below them as strangers in blood and as belonging to a different race. And a conquering tribe is perhaps hardly likely to recognise equality, even in its own internal relations.

Accordingly, even within the tribe and the kindred the value of one man's life was greater than another's. The amount of payment of galanas, i.e. for killing a

Tribal gradations of rank.

## Men's

 lives of different grades of worth. man, is sometimes spoken of in the Codes as his rorthChap. IV. (guerth) -the same word being used for the worth of the brenhin, or head chieftain, as is used for the worth of a cow or a kettle.

The gradations in the galanas thus reveal the grades of worthiness of the several classes in the tribe.
The worth Thus, to begin with the brenhin, or king. The of the hrenhin.

Uf others of the royal family and household. following is from the Venedotian Code :

The worth of the king is his saraad threefold. . . .
The saraad of the King of Aberffraw is to be paid thus:
A hundred cows from each cantref in his dominion and a white bull with red ears to every hundred cows, and a rod of gold equal in length to himself and as thick as his little finger, and a plate of gold as broad as his face and as thick as the nail of a ploughman who has been a ploughman for seven years. Gold is paid only to the King of Aberffraw. ${ }^{1}$

The saraad and galanas of the queen were one third that of the king. ${ }^{2}$ The worth of the edling, or designated successor to the brenhin, was also one third of the worth of the brenhin. ${ }^{3}$ The chief of the brenhin's household, being also a son of his, was likewise of one third the brenhin's worth. The worth of the king's steward was nine score and nine cowsi.e. 189 cows. ${ }^{4}$ The worth of the other royal officers was six score and six cows-i.e. 126 cows. ${ }^{5}$ But the worth of the baking woman and the laundress of the court was only one half of the worth of their brothers.

These officers, even though originally strangers, were free by reason of their office, and their worth (126 cows) seems thus to be the normal worth of the free tribesman.

But setting aside the official class and looking

[^82]within the kindreds, even the tribesmen were not all Снағ. $1 \mathbf{~}$. of one worth.

According to the Tenedotian Code, the following were the grades of worthiness. ${ }^{1}$


The galanas of a woman was half the galanas of her brother, ${ }^{2}$ just as her share in her father's goods ( $d a$ ) was half a brother's share. ${ }^{3}$

According to the Gwentian Code the grades of payment were virtually the same as those of North Wales, except that the worth of the chief of kindred was 567 cows and that of the members of his family 189 cows.

The Dimetian Code follows the Gwentian Code.
In both the latter Codes the breyr takes the place of the uchelur with the same worth, viz. 126 cows.

This worth of the uchelur or breyr seems, therefore, to represent the worth of the full or typical free tribesman, whilst that of the mere innate boneddig was only one half of it, the same as that of the stranger settled on the chieftain's land, and double that of the stranger on the land of the uchelwer or breyr.

Thus the youth born into the tribe, who was an

[^83]Chap. IV. innate boneddig, notwithstanding that his blood was pure to the ninth degree-that is to say, that he was the ninth in the line of unbroken descent from Cymric parents-on attaining fourteen, and receiving his cyvarwys, did not jump all at once into complete equality of communal value and rights in a republic whose members were all ' free and equal.' Provision was made, as we have seen, for his maintenance as a member of the kindred, but he was only a subordinate member. His worth was only half that of the uchelwr, and the same as that of the baking woman and laundress of the Court.

His worth was raised from 63 to 84 cows in North Wales when he became a family man, but he might live and die without becoming an uchelwr.

Hence the evidence of the rules relating to saraad and galanas, like those of land-occupation, prove that the structure of tribal society was patriarchal and aristocratic and not republican.

The three kinds of men.

Thus several lines of evidence patiently followed have led to the same conclusion. And now at last it becomes easy to understand a statement of the Dimetian Code, ${ }^{1}$ which, though at first sight strange and paradoxical, may now be recognised as summing up the whole truth in a nutshell.

> There are three kinds of persons-a brenhin, a breyr [or uchelwr] and a villein, with their aelodeu (i.e. 'relatives,' literally ' members ').

Under the tribal system the wele is the unit. The brentin and the members of his wele form the

[^84]royal and ruling class. The breyrs or uchelwrs, heads Crap. IV. of weles with the innate boneddigs under them, form the second class of free tribesmen. The villeins, or strangers in blood, form the third class; and beneath all these were the caeths, or slaves, who could be bought and sold.

The extraordinary solidarity of the kindreds and the tribe-a solidarity to which history bears ample testimony-was gained at the expense of the freedom and equality of the individual tribesmen. And little as the Codes reveal to us of the actual condition of the rank and file of Cymric tribesmen, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the easy possibility of oppression on the part of the chieftains and uchelurs. It is easy to see how, if such was the structure of the Gallic tribes described by Cæsar, his description of tribal society might well be, in measure at least, typical of tribal society generally in its early stages. It might, under the pressure of want on the part of the tribesmen, or the unscrupulous use of power on sion. the part of the uchelurs or higher chieftains, easily come to pass that the mass of tribesmen, with their bare rights of maintenance and a peculium subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, elsewhere than in the Gaul of Cæsar's description might become almost the serfs of the uchelurs, or, as he describes them, the servi of the equites.
V. CONFIRMATORY EVIDENCE OF THE DENBIGH EXTENT.

There is one other test to which may finally be put the correctness of the conclusion come to on the evidence of the Codes with reference to the subordinate position as regards rights in land and responsi-

Crap. Iv. bility for crime of the ordinary tribesman in the wele to which he belonged.
The The evidence of the escheats recorded in the escheats in the Denbigh Extent.

The lord claimed a proportion equal to the total of the escheated fractions in a district.

If a tribes. man had only a right of maintenance how could he have a share which could escheat? Denbigh Extent has been adduced as proof that the landed rights of the weles were mainly undivided rights of occupation and grazing. The escheats in respect of members who died contra pacem were not of specific acres of land, but of fractions of undivided rights.

And, as we have seen, the surveyors could only arrive at the proportion of the lords in respect of these escheats by what was practically a rule-of-three sum. All the escheated fractions in a given villata added together amounted to such and such a proportion of the whole. The acreage of the whole villata was so many acres. The lord's proportion of those acres in respect of the escheats was so and so, and he could, by rough justice, seize upon an area so ascertained, inclose it, and let it out on the English fashion to his own tenants.

But, this being so, why may it not be said that the fact of a man dying contra pacem, followed by the escheat to the lord of a fractional share in the landed rights of the wele, proves that as a subordinate member of the wele to which he belongs he was already in possession of his proper share in those landed rights, instead of having only his right of maintenance as the Codes seem to imply? How otherwise can it be that a son or a grandson who has not yet 'ascended ' to the privilege of his father or grandfather has a share which could escheat? Does not this show that the patriarchal character of the Cymric wele, on which so much stress has been laid, had at least
vanished from actual practice at the time of the Chap. Iv. Extent? And, if so, may it not fairly be doubted whether the system described in the Codes ever was more than an imaginary system, all very well on paper, but never in actual use?

These questions can only be met fairly by a further examination into the actual facts of the escheats as described in the Extent. This invaluable document will once more prove the safest guide to the true understanding of the Codes.

If, in the case of a death contra pacem, the escheat was of the particular fraction of rights belonging to the individual tribesman so dying, then the Extent must be admitted to be at variance with the Codes and Laws.

If, however, on close examination it should be found that the responsibility for the escheats was cast on the wele as a whole, then the evidence of the Extent must be allowed to confirm in a remarkable manner the patriarchal character of the wele as described in the Codes.

What are the facts?
Now, if the reader will refer to the summary given above of the wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, he will find that there had been two escheats, viz. :(1) $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gavell of Ken' ap Risshard ap Lauwarghe, i.e. $\frac{1}{36}$ of the original uele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk,

One-sixth exactly of the rele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk was escheat, and (2) $\frac{5}{6}$ of the gavell of Darid ap Kendalo ap Lauwarghe, i.e. $\frac{5}{36}$ of the original wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk.

Now, the two together make up $\frac{6}{36}$, so that exactly one-sixth of the original wele had escheated to the lord for deaths contra pacem of members of this wele.

Chap. Iv. The natural inference is that one-sixth of the
and apportioned among the tribesmen of the mele.

The case of the rele of Canon ap Lauwarghe, original wele was adjudged after the war to be escheat, and that it was apportioned by arrangement within the kindred in the proportion of $\frac{1}{36}$ to the family of one of the grandsons, and $\frac{5}{36}$ to the family of one of the others; the families of the other four grandsons being free from any part of it. This seems on the face of the figures more likely than that the rights of the individuals who had died contra pacem should have added up to an exact sixth of the whole right of the wele.

Turning next to the summary of the villata of Prees, and taking first the escheats within the progenies or wele of Canon ap Lauwarghe, we have the following fractions :-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \frac{7}{T_{8}} \text { of a gavell }=\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} \text { of a gavell. } \\
& \frac{1}{4} ", \quad=\frac{{ }^{9} 6}{} ", \\
& \frac{2}{3} \text { of } \frac{1}{2} \text { gavell }=\frac{4}{3_{88}} \text { ", } \\
& \text { a whole } \frac{1}{2} \text { gavell }=\frac{1}{3} \frac{8}{6} \quad, \quad,
\end{aligned}
$$

Adding these fractions together, the total of the escheats equals $\frac{45}{36}$ of a gavell. Now, as there were $4 \frac{1}{2}$ gavells belonging to the progenies of Canon ap Lauwarghe, $\frac{45}{162}$ or $\frac{10}{56}$ of his wele was escheat.
and the mele of Ivthle ap Lauwarghe.

These were parts of the original nele of their father, and the escheats

There were 8 weles embraced in the wele of Pythle ap Lauwarghe, of which one whole wele was escheat and $\frac{3}{10}$ of all the other seven, making together $\frac{31}{10}$ of $\frac{1}{8}$, i.e. $\frac{31}{80}$ of the original wele of Pythle.

These cases do not seem at first sight to be evidence either way; but when it is considered that Canon ap Lauwarghe and Pythle ap Lauwarghe were brothers it becomes obvious that they were sharers in their father's original wele, so that if these fractions of $\frac{10}{36}$ and $\frac{31}{80}$-which in themselves suggest nothing
-turn out to be divisions of an even fraction of the whole original wele of Lauwarghe, the father of Canon and Pythle, just as in the last case, the evidence will confirm the fact of the escheat having been thrown on the whole original wele.

Now, $\frac{10}{36}$ of Canon's wele and $\frac{31}{80}$ of Pythle's wele equal $\frac{5}{36}$ and $\frac{31}{160}$ of their father's wele; and, added together, these fractions amounted to $\frac{479}{1440}$-i.e. only $\frac{1}{1440}$ short of one even third of the original wele. The inference consequently must be that after the wars it had been adjudged that onethird of the original wele should be regarded as escheat, and, as a matter of fact, it was impossible to allot this one-third according to the tribal rules as to the responsibility of the families of tribesmen more exactly than was done in the fractions abovementioned.

The same conclusion is arrived at when the internal division is considered. Take the case of the progenies of Pythle. Pythle was presumably dearl at the date of the Extent, because his sons are recorded as the heads of weles. One of these sons is dead contra pacem, perhaps without sons, and the whole of his wele is escheat. There are seven other sons' weles to bear their share of the remainder of the escheat. Ther divide the rest of what falls to Pythle's share equally-i.e. $\frac{3}{10}$ of their rights are given up as escheat by each of the seven. How is it possible that exactly $\frac{3}{10}$ of the members of each of these weles had died contra pacem? They are evidently sharing a common liability which had fallen upon the original wele to which they belonged.

So far, therefore, from the evidence of the

Cfap. IV. escheats of the Denbigh Extent clashing with that of original the Codes as to the patriarchal character of the wele as a whole. weles, it seems to confirm it in a remarkable manner, and to show that even so late as the conquest of The North Wales the ordinary free tribesman of the individual
tribesmen Denbigh district was not treated as an individual were therefore treated as members of a patria potestas and not as jointowners his family, but as a subordinate member of a wele, whose head was responsible in his representative character for the misdeeds of all his descendants to the fourth degree of descent.

## CHAPTER V.

THE RELATION TO THE TRIBE OF STRANGERS IN BLOOD.

## I. THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF STRANGERS.

A good deal has already been said with regard to Crap. v. the relations to the tribe of the strangers in blood.

If blood relationship was the tie which bound the kindreds of tribesmen together, and if the want of Cymric blood made the gulf between the tribesmen and strangers in blood, the refusal to recognise any

Want of blood the secret of the stranger's position. efficient blood relationship as between strangers was the key to their legal condition under the tribal system. It was as though the tribesman was so conscious of the strength of the tie of his own blood relationship that he was blind to any other but his own. Or possibly his knowledge of the strength of that tie made him dread the growth of a similar tie amongst others of alien blood.

It is significant that the ties which were recognised, and even encouraged within cautious limits, were those which bound the stranger to the tribesman, and not those which would bind him to his fellow stranger. And no doubt from the point of view of the tribal system there was political wisdom in the instinct which set itself against what would help the non-

116 The Relation to the Tribe of Strangers in Blood.
Сhap. Y. tribesmen to organise themselves into a too powerful subject tribe.

Each stranger under a lord.

He was not therefore a serf.

Placed in a maertref, or taeogtref, in
'tref. gevery,' without rights of inheritance;

Under Welsh tribal custom each stranger was individually subject to some Cymric superior and protector, who might, or might not, as we shall see, have proprietary rights over him. A tie of some kind always was formed between him and his Cymric superior, but, whatever it might be, it did not necessarily imply anything in the nature of bondage or serfdom, however easily it might grow into it.

Even if something like the relation of lordship and serfdom ultimately grew out of it, as the phraseology of the surveys would suggest had been the case, still, before we can understand its nature we must examine how it arose under the tribal system and by what tribal rules it was regulated. It is the more necessary to examine this point carefully, as it may possibly help to throw some light upon the origin and original nature of manorial serfdom.

The surveys have already made us familiar with the hamlets of so-called villein or bond tenants, holding under what the 'Record of Carnarvon' describes as a tenure of the nature of trefgevery.

These tenants are described in the Codes as taeogs, or aillts, and they are sometimes located on the maertref of the Prince, and sometimes in taeog-trefs, i.e. in separate trefs, and not mixed up with the tribesmen.

Further, the description in the Codes of the nature of their tenure (which has already been quoted) was found to correspond with the description given in the ' Record of Carnarvon' of land held in trefgevery.

The peculiar point about these taeog-trefs was,
it will be remembered, the joint responsibility of the taeogs in each tref, or hamlet, for the services, or payments in lieu of them. In some cases on the manor of Aberffraw they seemed to be arranged in groups of nine, probably for this purpose.

The peculiar feature of the taeog-tref as described in the Codes was the entire absence of any rights of inheritance, all the taeogs sharing equally in the land, sons having separate tyddyns during the lifetime of their fathers, and sharing equally along with the rest, excepting the youngest son, who remained with his father and succeeded to his tyddyn on his death.

The equality was carried so far as to provide that no one could commence the co-ploughing until every taeog in the tref had found a place for his oxen in the common ploughs. ${ }^{1}$

Recognising that this peculiar kind of tenure was the natural result of carrying out the tribal principle that there was no true kinship and inheritance among strangers in blood, it becomes obvious that it was the typical kind of tenure for non-tribesmen, and this was so whether they were settled in the maertref of the Brenhin, or Prince, or in separate taeog-trefs under the regulation of his maer and canghellor, or scattered over the cantrefs and cymwds under subordinate chieftains or ucheluers. In all cases, as a normal rule, non-tribesmen were placed in regulated trejs, of tir cyfrit, held in trefgerery.

The ordinary class of taeogs, or aillts, born on the land, whose ancestors had been on the land from generation to generation, to whom the bridge of

[^85]Сhap. V . successive marriages with women of Cymric blood

Easily described as nativi,

The kinbroken tribesman alike.
but not was shut out by the humility of their position, who were therefore in North Wales taeogs for ever, and in South Wales waiting for the ninth generation before there was any chance of rising into a higher status -these hereditary taeogs, or aillts, would naturally be described by the makers of the surveys as nativi and bond tenants.

And it was perfectly natural that new comers, strangers in blood, seeking protection and settlement, should, as a rule, be placed in such a taeog-tref and become nativi like the rest.

But further examination very soon makes it clear that all strangers and new comers were not treated alike.

Without entering into the question of terminology and the difference between aillts and taeogs and other strangers in blood, it can readily be seen that the new comers might belong to different classes. ${ }^{1}$

Take the case of the car-shattered or kin-broken tribesman. For some reason or other he had to leave his kindred. The cause of his leaving might well determine his position in the place where he sought his new home.

If driven by necessity like the 'Prodigal Son' in the parable to take a menial position, to join himself to an uchelwr, he would naturally be placed to work in a taeog-tref. He might well be contented to perform the services of a taeog in return for

[^86]protection and maintenance. He might thus naturally drop into the position of an aillt or a taeog.

The word aillt is believed to mean 'a shaven or tonsured person.' ${ }^{1}$ The tonsure was indicative of service, and his submission to it would be the outward sign that he had become the 'sworn man' of his protector.

Such might well be the experience of any stranger in humble or abject circumstances, driven by necessity to seek protection. The following passage couples with the 'kin-broken' man, the illegitimate son disowned by the kin, and the stranger seeking a home in Cymru :-
> - Strangers and their progeny are adjudged to be aillts, and also the reputed son, . . . and evil-doers, till the end of the ninth descent.
> 'And every aillt and taeog is required to be a sworn man, and appraised to the lord of the territory, and to his proprietary lord, i.e. the lord who shall take him under his protection, and grant him land in a taeog-trev. And an aillt is to be at the will and pleasure of such until he shall attain the descent and privilege of an innate Cymro, and that is to be attained by the fourth descendant of his issue by legitimate marriages with innate Cymraeses.' ${ }^{2}$

In this passage from the Triads, which obviously refers to South Wales, the new comers are all described as located in taeog-trefs. And if it stood alone we might assume that admission into the taeogtref was the only recognised mode of dealing with strangers in blood.

[^87]Hagar, in the Biblical story), and it literally means the 'bald or cropped girl.' I am indebted to my friend Professor Rhys for this information.
${ }^{2}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 67.
and was placed in a taeog-tref.

## 120 The Relation to the Tribe of Strangers in Blood.

Chap. V.
Some favoured strangers placed on land and grow into tribesmen were classes of strangers, probably in better circumstances, who were not thus placed once for all in a taeog-tref to take their chance as ordinary taeogs. These new comers were placed upon portions of the Brenhin's or uchelwr's waste to work themselves or their descendants in the fourth degree into the position of tenants adscripti glebce, holding in kindreds and families, but still without the privilege of tribesmen. There is a passage which throws a flood of light into the question of the position, under the tribal system, of this class of strangers. Possibly it refers only to alltuds in the strict meaning of the term, but it shows how tribal principles and tribal analogies were applied to such cases.
> ' If an alltud [stranger] become a man to an uchelwr, and be with him until death; and the son of the alltud be with the son of the uchelwr, and the grandson of the alltud with the grandson of the uchelwr, and the great-grandson of the alltud with the greatgrandson of the uchelwr, that fourth uchelwr will be a priodawr over the great-grandson of the alltud, and his heirs [will be] priodorion of the heirs of that grandson for ever, and, thenceforth, they are not to go to the country whence they are derived, away from their proprietary lords, on account of their having lost the time when they were to go if they willed to go.' ${ }^{1}$

Remain. ing four generations, they become adscripti gleba, and subject to family proprietorship.

This passage shows that the tribal rule that proprietorship in land was not attained till the occupation had continued till the fourth generation, was applied also to a lord's proprietorship of an alltud. If the alltud and his descendants remained on the land of the uchelur for four generations, the great-grandchildren of the alltud became adscripti glebre for ever after. And so complete was the

[^88]proprietorship thus established that it had become Chap. V. subject to the law of family possession under the further application of tribal rules; so that a father could not free the stranger for longer than his own life without his son's consent.
> - No one can liberate an alltud, except during his own life, except by his departure to his own conntry, and although he may liberate him in his day, the claim will be fresh for the son, after his father, when he shall be minded to claim.' ${ }^{1}$

But there is another important inference to be drawn from the passage first quoted, riz. that any time before the fourth generation the alltud and his descendants could leave the ucheher's service if they pleased.

Accordingly in another passage it is expressly stated that the alltud could aroid coming under permanent proprietorship by removal at intervals from one uchelur to another.

- If an alltud when he comes from his country become a man to an uchelwr, and from him go to another, and he proceed, and his son after him, and his grandson, and his great-grandson, and his goresgynydd, from one uchelwr to another, without settling in any place more than another, let them be under the privilege of alltuds so long as they shall be thus without settling.' ${ }^{2}$

These passages make no special mention of any separate location on land. They may be of later date than the Codes. But the following passage from the Venedotian Code deals directly with the case of alttuds located on land, and it shows that they were dealt with on the same tribal principles.

It explains the acquisition by the alltud or his descendants of the privilege of permanent occupation

[^89]Crap. Y. of land, if they shall have occupied the same land under an uchelur till the fourth generation. And it also explains that at the same moment in which the fourth man becomes a priodawr, he also becomes subject to the proprietorship of the uchelwr, and thenceforth practically adscriptus glebw.
'And as the alltuds of the King become priodorion in the fourth man after they shall have been placed on the King's waste, so also the alltuds of the uchelwrs become priodorion in the fourth man if they have occupied the same land under them for so long a time, and from thenceforth they are not to go from the uchelwrs, for they are priodorion under them, and they are not to take their propriety, one from the land from whence they originate, and another here.
' After they are become priodorion, their tyddyns on the land, and land to them also they are to have, and their land, excepting such, to be arable among them.' ${ }^{1}$

## It is further added :-

' If the alltuds will go away from their lords before they become priodorion, they are to leave half their goods to them.' ${ }^{2}$
thus confirming the point of their freedom to move as they pleased till the fourth generation.

These strangers acquire ultimately rights of inheritance.

Whether the first passage quoted might apply or not to strangers placed in taeog-trefs of 'register land,' it is clear that the last quoted passage deals with quite another class, i.e. with immigrants of a much higher position. These immigrants are strangers in blood. They are placed on the waste of a prince or an uchelur apparently in groups, each with his separate tyddyn, and a few erws in croft around it occupied in severalty, and with other land held in common by the group which was to be arable among them cultivated by the co-aration of their common plough-teams. The great-grandchildren of

[^90]the original alltuds become priodorion, and are distinguished from taeogs holding in trefgecery.

But it must not be imagined that in becoming proprietors they also became Cymric tribesmen. Far from it. It is true that the word priodaur is applied to them as it is to tribesmen, but instead of heing, like the tribesmen, proprietors of tribal rights, they become proprietors on what in the Extents is called terra nativa. The fact seems to be that at the moment when, from unbroken residence for four generations, recognition of the rights of kindred was

Their kindreds are recognised bat they do not become tribesmen. They are on terra nativa, and they are adscripti glebre. at last conceded, instead of its establishing kinship to the tribe and making them Cymry, it confirmed their subordinate position and deprived them of their freedom of departure from the land for ever.

This process of final recognition of kindred in the families of strangers is thus strictly consistent with tribal policy.

It must not be confused with the exceptional bridges across the gulf between tribesmen and nontribesmen allowed in South Wales.

The families of these favoured strangers, whose rights of kindred were recognised, remained permanently non-tribesmen, and it is interesting to observe that notwithstanding this the tribal rules as to grades of kinship were recognised as applying to them. At the fourth generation the recognition of kindred began, and the descendant of the original alltud became an alltud of a kindred. But the kindred was not a perfect one till the 'alltud of a kindred ' had himself great-grandchildren.

[^91]
## They

become
entitled to a raith, or the protection of the oaths their kinsmen.

Chap. V.
$\qquad$

And the want of numbers of kinsmen was met artificially.
have been in Cymru until there have arisen brothers, cousins, second cousins and third cousins, and nephews to each of those.
' They are not thenceforth to go to the country from whence they originated, because they are a kindred; and there is no person of a kindred who is not entitled to have a raith adjudged to him, and that number of persons form a kindred; and there is no one who has not been primarily an advenient man; and all ultimately become proprietors and form kindreds if they continue in Cymru until the fourth descent.' ${ }^{1}$

This passage brings into view another consequence of the recognition of kindred in the case of alltudsanother point in which the tribal system was consistent with itself.

One of the rights of the innate Cymro was protection by raith of his kindred - the right to call upon his kindred to protect him by their oath.

So long as the alltud was without recognition of kindred his oath was not recognised as of full value, because he had no kindred who could swear for him.

- Alltud bondmen can be sold by their lord and given by law, and amends are not to be made for them if they be unlawfully killed, because they have no kindred who can demand it.' ${ }^{2}$

But free alltuds had a worth or galanas, ${ }^{3}$ as we have seen. And so soon as they attained the privilege of kindred, their kindred could claim it, and the oaths or raith of a kindred had to be recognised.

There is a passage which seems to meet the difficulty of want of numbers in the alltud's newlyacquired kindred. He was still not a Cymro, and he had no right to call upon any but his kindred to be compurgators with him.

What, then, was he to do if in any case more

$$
{ }^{1} W . L . \text { V. ii. } 144 . \quad{ }^{2} \text { W.L. XI. ii. } 2 .
$$

${ }^{3}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 112.
oaths were required than he had kinsmen to swear Cras. v for him? This was a difficulty which had to be met. And it seems to have been met by a kind of legal fiction.
' There is to be no rejection of the raith of an alltud when a raith of the country does not pertain to him, although persons shall not swear along with him; for let him give his own oath repeatedly for so many persons as ought to swear along with him if he were of a kindred.' ${ }^{1}$
Thus it appears that tribal custom recognised not only kindred, but also the consequence of kindred, in the case of the favoured alltuds, who, through residence for four generations on a lord's land, had become adscripti glebre. But it also appears that the recognition of kindred among themselves, instead of making them Cymry, left them in such a legal position as to justify the Norman lawyers and surveyors calling them nativi, although, like the tribesmen, they were allowed to form guelys instead of living under the normal tenure of the nature of trefgevery.

This explains how we come to find in the Extents of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh, nativi living in weles like the free tribesmen. Occa-

The reles of nativi in the surveys. sionally in the Record of Carnarvon groups of nativi, instead of holding in trefgevery, are spoken of as holding by a tenure of the nature of trereloge-i.e. in weles with the rights of inheritance which follow the recognition of kindred. ${ }^{2}$

In the Denbigh Extent the prevalence of ueles of nativi is very general. And this is entirely consistent with the Venedotian Code under which, whilst rights of kindred were recognised at the

[^92]Chap.v. fourth generation, no bridge was allowed across the gulf which separated the stranger from the Cymro, except in the case of officials of the Court who were enfranchised by reason of their office.

Enfranchisement of weles of nativi after the conquest.

Example of the enfranchisement of a wele.

It was not, apparently, till after the conquest that any general enfranchisement took place. And when it did take place the following example shows that it took the form of enfranchisement of the whole wele of nativi, and not of individuals only.

In the case of this example of a gwely of nativi it is curious to notice that they are still described as holding ' under the condition of trefgevery.'


#### Abstract

'This indenture, made between the venerable Father, Lord John, by grace of God, Bishop of St. Asaph, and the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph, of the one part, and the proprietarii et coheredes of that lectum called Gwely Gwarthhoet, in the Villa of Bryngwyn, of the other part, witnesseth that whereas the aforesaid proprie. tarii et coheredes have ever before this time been called nativi and have held their lands and tenements there under the condition of Trefgyfrif, the aforesaid venerable Father, the Dean and Chapter, for themselves and their successors, at the entreaty of the aforesaid proprietarii et coheredes, have liberated both them and their heirs and their lands and tenements from that condition henceforth, and have exonerated them for ever, and have made them in all things of the same condition as the proprietarii et coheredes of that lectum called Gwely Ithelwr being in the same villa, so that the aforesaid proprietarii et coheredes of the aforesaid lectum called Gwely Gwarthhoet, and their heirs in future for ever shall pay to the lord . . . marks of annual rent on the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James for having this concession, whereas before they lhave been wont to pay five shillings of this rent on the feast aforesaid. In witness whereof the aforesaid parties have respectively placed their seals to this Indenture with these witnesses. Robert ap Gruffud, at that time Raglot of the Lord Bishop, Lewelyn ap Madoc Loyt, then steward of the same; Eden Moel ap Bleth Duy, then Ringildre at the same place; Eynon ap Ken ap Bleth . . . and many others. 'Given at St. Asaph on the Lord's Day nest after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, A.D. 1355.' ${ }^{1}$


[^93]
## II. THE LINK of fosterage between tribesmen and

 non-Tribesmen.That the custom of placing strangers upon the Crap. v. waste until their successors became proprietors in the fourth man was one common to all three of the Welsh divisions is clear from the following statements of the Codes. They are useful, also, in showing how the Venedotian uchelur and his aillt corresponded with the Dimetian and Gwentian breyr and his taeog. They further show that not only was it a common thing for aillts and taeogs to be placed upon waste land, and to become proprietors, but also that where such was the case uchelurs or breyrs placed their sons with them to foster.
i. p. $195 . \quad$ i. p. 543.

Venedotian Code.
If an uchelwr place his son to be reared with an aillt of a lord, by the permission or sufferance of the lord, for a year and a day, that son is to have a son's share of the aillt's land, and, ultimately, of his property.

Dimetian.
If the taeog of the King take the son of a breyr to foster (ar vaeth), with the King's permission, such a foster son is to participate in the inheritance of the taeog, like one of his own sons. -Dewi of Brevi.
i. p. 767.

Gwentian.
If a taeog take the son of a breyr to foster, with the permission of the lord, such a son is to participate in the patrimony of the taeog, like one of his own sons.

These facts, taken together, are additional proof of the anxiety to secure the loyalty of the best class of strangers in blood. In the case of these favoured strangers not only was intermarriage with innate Importance of fosterage under the tribal system. Cymraeses allowed in South Wales with consent of the kindreds, and not only were they supplied with land from the waste, and allowed to become proprietors in the fourth man, but further the sons of their lords

The chiefs and uchelvrs place their sons with aillts to foster

Chap. ${ }^{\text {r. }}$. were placed with them to be fostered, and thereby as foster-sons to share with their foster-brothers in the foster-father's inheritance if he had attained to the position of a proprietor.

Giraldus Cambrensis complains that the tie of friendship between foster-brothers was often stronger than the tie of natural kinship between brothers. It was thus that fosterage became so important an incident in the tribal system in Celtic as well as in other countries. It was one of the several means used under the tribal system for the purpose of tying strangers as tightly as possible to the tribe, quite consistently with the tribal policy of keeping the class of strangers in blood as loosely organised as possible inter se.

## III. FURTIIER EVIDENCE FROM 'CELTIC SCOTLAND.'

Various kinds of nativi in Scotland.

The resemblance between ancient Celtic custom in Wales and in Scotland, as regards strangers in blood and the stages and methods by which something like serfdom grew out of it, is too marked to be passed by without reference here.

In Celtic Scotland, as in Wales, there were socalled nativi or bondmen of various kinds and different origin.

There is a remarkable passage in the fragments of laws printed under the heading Quoniam attachia-menta-De brevi de nativis, ${ }^{1}$ which may be translated as follows :-

[^94][^95]called de evo et trevo, whom he (the lord) will claim to be his nativi naturally, by beginning to narrate their ancestors, if their names are known, to wit, of his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father. Who are convicted by his saying that they all are his natici in such and such a villa of his, and in a certain place within the said rilla on servile land, and that ther rendered and did to him and his ancestors servile service for many days and years, and this " nativitas," or bondage, can be proved through the parents of the convicted one, if they are alive, or per bonam assisam.
' Likewise, there is another kind of bondage, similar to this, where some stranger shall have taken some servile land from some lord doing servile service for the same land, and if he die on the same land. and his son likewise, and afterwards his son shall have lived and died on the same land, then all his posterity [i.e. his great-grandsons] shall be at the fourth grade altogether in servile condition to his lord, and his whole posterity can be proved in the same way.

- There is a third kind of nativitas, or bondage, where some freeman, pro dominio habendo vel manutenencia -i.e. for protection or maintenance] from some magnate, gives himself up to that lord as his nativus or bondman in his court by the front hair of his head (per crines anteriores capitis sui).'

It is not necessary to do more than point out how remarkably the three clauses of this passage coincide with the Welsh eridence that under Celtic custom occupation br strangers in blood of land under a lord for four generations made the greatgrandchildren of strangers, who up to that time had been free to leave as ther liked, into a family whose posterity were ever after adscripti glebce. They show how in Scotland the hereditary taeog or naticus was distinguished from the new comer who in open court became the natirus of his lord, per crines anteriores capitis sui. Whether these words mean tinsure and so connect the Scotch naticus with the aillt or tonsured person of the Welsh codes may be doubted. But tribal touches in what otherwise might be regarded as feudal definitions of serfdom seem to

130 The Relation to the Tribe of Strangers in Blood.
cmar. v. suggest connecting links between tribal and feudal

These distinctions are those of Celtic custom,
i.e. custom of ancient Cumbria. custom.

Mr. Skene, in his chapter on ' The Tribe in Scotland,' remarks with reference to the passages above quoted as follows :-
'These definitions of the different kinds of nativi or bondmen may, no doubt, apply to a later period, and be more or less connected with feudal forms, but we may notwithstanding infer that they preserve the characteristics of the servile class in Celtic times; for although the upper classes may in the Lowland districts have been superseded by Saxon or Norman proprietors holding their lands in feudal tenure, the servile occupiers of the soil, of Celtic race, who were attached to the land, would remain and become the villeins of the feudal lord; and so we find that wherever they appear in the Chartularies they possess Celtic names. ${ }^{11}$

Thus the evidence of the transition from tribal to feudal forms in this respect comes from the two extreme ends, as it were of the ancient Cumbria, and it is not the less interesting on that account.
iv. the reception into the tribe of strangers in SOUTH wales.

Strangers in blood became adscripti gleluce.

It has been shown that the recognition of kindred in the case of strangers in blood after residence for four generations on the land of a chieftain or uchelwr, so far from making them free tribesmen,

[^96]tied them all the more permanently to the land, so
CHAP.V. that they became adscripti glebar, or nativi.

This applied, according to the evidence of Codes and traditions, both in the northern Cumbria, from which Wales had long been severed, and in Wales itself.

In South Wales, however, the rule was subject to carefully guarded exceptions.

The fact has several times been alluded to that in South Wales the attainment of the position of a free tribesman was possible by residence in Cymru for nine generations, and could be hastened by repeated intermarriages with ' innate Cymraeses.'

It may be worth while, before passing from the subject of strangers in blood, to quote one more passage from the Welsh Laws describing this process and having particular regard to the rights to which the stranger attained on becoming a tribesman. ${ }^{1}$
'This is the mode of regulating those marriages-to wit, the son of an aillt, being a sworn man to the lord of the territory who shall marry an innate Cymraes with the consent of her kindred, is, by that marriage, in the privilege of the second degree of kin and descent ; to their children attaches the privilege of the third degree; and one of those children, by intermarrying with a Cymraes of legitimate blood, assumes the fourth degree; a son by that marriage stands in the privilege of the fifth degree, and be is the grandchild of the original aillt ${ }^{2}$; and that son, by intermarrying with an innate Crmraes, arises to the privilege of the sisth degree of kin, and a son by that marriage or a great-grand. son of the original aillt is of the seventh degree, and by intermarrying with an innate Cymraes attains to the eighth degree under the privilege of his wife, for it is the privilege of every innate Cymraes to adrance a degree for her aillt husband with whom she shall intermarry ; and the son of this great-grandson by such marriage attains to the privilege of the ninth descent ; and therefore he is called a seisor (goresgynydd).'

[^97]
## 132 The Relation to the Tribe of Strangers in Blood.

Chap. V.
What did the stranger attain to on becoming a tribesman ?
He got his cyvarnys and became chief of a new kindred.

It is important to notice why he is so called, and what it is that he attains to :-
' For he seizes (goresgyn) his land (tir) or his fruition of five free erws and his cyvarwys and privilege of chief of kindred and every other social right due to an innate Cymro.'

That is to say, he becomes a priodawr, or tribesman, with right to location upon land and a cyvarwys. Further, as he begins a new kindred, so also he becomes its Chief of Kindred.


#### Abstract

' And he becomes the stock of a kindred, or he stands in the privilege of chief of kindred to his progeny, and likewise to his seniors ; for such of them as may be living, as father or grandfather or great-grandfather, and not further, obtain in their seisor the privilege of innate Cymry. And he is not in law called the son of his father in suits for land, but his seisor ; and he is a seisor to his grandfather and also a seisor to his great-grandfather and a seisor to his uncles, and his cousins, and his second cousins, when they, one or other, shall descend from legitimate marriages. 'And the seisor becomes chief of kindred to them all after arriving at the full age of manhood ; and every one of them is a man and kin (gwr a char) to him, and his word is paramomnt over them one and all . . .'


It would seem, howerer, that though in this sense the new tribesman ennobled his ancestors and relations so that their blood relationship to him could be recognised, yet they do not thereby all at once become tribesmen with a right to location on land and cyvarwys as he has done.
> - Although they approach the kindred of the seisor and possess their privileges free under the protection and privilege of their chief of kindred, they obtain not their lands (ni chafant eu tirodd) except those who individually attain the degree or privilege of the ninth descent-that is, of seisor (goresgynedd).'

There seems to be in these statements confirmation of the facts before alluded to as characteristic of the structure of the Cymric tribal society, not
only as regards the tenacity with which the tribal chap. V . rules of kinship were carried out and applied to the entrance of strangers into the tribe, but also as regards the character of the normal right of the tribesman. The normal right, whether of the innate boneddig born into the tribe, or of the stranger in blood on first becoming a tribesman, was not an equal share in certain tribe land, but the right of maintenance-the fruition of five free erws and whaterer else was included in his cyvaruys.

## CHAPTER VI.

## CHIEFTAINSHIP IN THE TRIBE.

I. THE GRADES OF CHIEFTAINSHIP.

Chap. Mi. The fact that the tribe was complex, that it contained besides the kindreds of tribesmen various classes of strangers in blood, combined with the fact of the existence of territorial lordships, naturally gave a dual character to the matter of chieftainship.

From the strictly tribal point of view, the principle of blood relationship might work itself out simply enough.

Tribal gradations of chieftainship.

Beginning with the chief of the wele, who was the head of a patriarchal family of kin within the fourth degree of descent, it was a perfectly natural tribal step upwards to the chief of kindred, under whose rule the many households included within the kinship to the ninth degree were bound together into an organised kindred. It was but another perfectly natural step to bind the several kindreds together under the higher chieftain of the larger kindred of the tribe.

But, side by side with this strictly tribal view of the gradations of chieftainship, the Welsh Codes show that there had grown up what, from another point
of riew, look like similar gradations of territorial lordship. The tribal system had evidently found room for the growing power and jurisdiction of a hierarchy of territorial chieftains, very nearly resembling feudal lords, holding courts with legal jurisdiction, and possessed of landed estates in Norman eyes not to be distinguished from manors, on which were settled rarious classes of tenants which, to Norman eyes, seemed more or less like the different grades of villani on English manors. Some of them, as we have seen, were aillts and taeogs, living in 'registered' or taeog trefs; whilst others were specially located on the lord's waste and growing up into kindreds with or without tribal rights.

Thus it would be easy, using words with a conrentional meaning, to describe the two principles or influences working side by side in later tribal society (and perhaps from the first) as tribal and jeudal.

But by doing so some danger might be run of falling into the error of begging the question at issue. The real question is whether these so-called feudal tendencies were the result of outside feudal influences upon the tribal system, or whether what we call the feudal system in Western Europe may not, itself, turn out to hare been in part the result of tendencies engrained in the very nature of tribal society and thus underlying the conditions out of which feudalism grew.

Recurring to the condition of things described in the Codes, there seems in one sense to have been quite a hierarchy of chieftains.

There was the brenkin, or King, of Aberffraw, the whose chieftainship extended over all Cymru. But, brenhim.
('asp. vi. under the Codes, Gwent and Dimetia each had its brenhin, subordinate, however, to the brenhin of Aberffraw. And each cantref or cymwd had also its chieftain who held courts and had legal jurisdiction of some kind among uchelwrs and breyrs who, themselves, were heads of kindreds or households, and in some sense petty chieftains with the privilege attached to proprietorship of land.

All this looks at first sight very territorial. And it also was ancient. For
> - When Howel the Good, brenhin of Cymru, modified the laws of Cymru, he permitted various privileges to various persons in his kingdom, . . . and likewise he permitted every chief (pennaeth) to whom there might belong a cymwd, or cantref, or more, to hold a daily royal court of privileged officers, in number as he should deem proper, in a similar manner to himself, and privilege to hold a royal court of pleas in his country among his uchelwrs. . . . And he permitted every uchelwr to hold his own land according to its privilege, and to rule his bondmen according to conditional bondage in South Wales, and perpetual bondage in Gwynedd. ${ }^{1}$

He reserved to himself, however, all suits pertaining to his crown as brention and to his relations (aelodeu)-i.e. members of his royal family. ${ }^{2}$

The words used in various passages in the Codes for the gradations of chieftainship are instructive and indicative of tribal origin.
Sometime In the preface to the Venedotian Code, Howel the toisech used for brenhin. Good is in some of the MSS. called the tewysauc (i.e. toisech) of all Cymru; and it goes on to say that he summoned six men from each cymwd in his kingdom (tehuysokaet). Very shortly afterwards it is stated that ' the saraad of the King (brenhin) of Aberffiaw is

[^98]${ }^{2}$ Id. reading d. 37.
to be paid thus: a hundred cows for each cantref in C'rap. Vi. his dominion (argluydyaet).' ${ }^{1}$

In the last passage the brenhin has authority orer And an argluydyaet, the words king and lord being practi- times cally interchanged. In the first passage the king or argluyd, terysauc (toisech) has authority orer a tehuysukaet. These terms, in their Gaelic form, were used in Treland and went back, according to the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' to early Irish tribal tradition; for it was the mythic Ollamh Fodla (who flourished, it is said, twelve centuries B.c.) who appointed a toisech over every tuath in Ireland. ${ }^{2}$

In the preface to the Dimetian Code the word used for the prince is brenhin, and in one MS. tyryssauc, and his kingdom is called a teymmas (the same word as the Irish tigernas), the dominion of a teyrn or tigerna, or house-lord. In a further clause in the same Code, Howel is said to be accompanied by the teyrnedd or tigerns of Cymru in his visit to Rome, thus making a distinction between the brenkin or head king and the tigerns or subordinate kings. ${ }^{3}$

In another passage of less authority, dealing with the federate country of all Cymru, the same distinction is made between the head king or brenhin penraith of all Cymru and the subordinate tyrysaugs or toisechs under him, ${ }^{4}$ who, however, were themselves paramount in their own territories. And this brenhin penraith is said to be the hynar (eldest, ${ }^{5}$ most ancient,

[^99][^100]('rap. VI. or ancestor), i.e the head of the royal or ruling family.

The distinction between the head chieftainship of Aberffraw and the sub-chieftains of the other divisions is maintained in the same way but with different words in another passage : ${ }^{1}$

Under chieftains mactigerns or arlls.
> 'Three mechdeyrn rule all the gwladychu of Cymru, the brenin of Aberffraw, and the arglwydd of Dinefwr (in Dimetia), and the arglwydd of Mathrafal (in Powys).'

Here again the chief of Aberffraw alone is brenhin.

In the next sentence all these are called teyrn, and their teyrnas is said to be thus divided into three parts (rhan), but Aberffraw is said to have supremacy over the other two. 'And there are three yeirll (iarlls) ${ }^{2}$ under it (Aberffraw), viz. of Caerllion (Gwent), of Dinefwr (Dimetia), and of Mathrafal (Powys).'

Here the distinction is between the brenhin and the subordinate iarlls. And there is another passage which states that when, according to the legend, Maelgwn became supreme king (brenhin pennaf) with Aberffraw for his principal court, the status of the lords of Powys, Dimetia, and Gwent became that of under-chieftains or iarlls. ${ }^{3}$

Why, then, it may be asked, are all the chieftains, including Aberffraw, called in the passage above quoted mechdeyrn? The word is translated vicegerent, and in its etymology it betrays again a tribal source. Like the Latin dominus, the word tigerna means the head of the house. And whether the word mechdeym

[^101]originally meant the sons of the 'tigerna' 1 or Crap. $\nabla$. whether the prefix had another derivation than son; in either case the connection with the idea of the household is maintained. In Irish the word octhigernd means literally the young tigerns, but it is used also for a sub-tigern. Both words suggest that the sub-chieftains were the younger members of the ruling family, of which the head king was the hynaf or elder. As in older days the brenhin of Aberffraw Were the mactigerns younger sons of chieftains ? was in a sense a subordinate king paying tribute to the king of Lloegyr, from this point of view he was a mechdeyrn.

Another passage states that :-
'Three mechdeyrn dues arise from all Cymry. To Aberffraw from the other two: (1) from Dinerwr four tunell of honey, each containing four $m u$, two grenneit in each $m u$, each grenn a load (llwyth) for two men on a pole; flour from Gwynva (Powys) in the same manner.

- Three score and three pounds the King of Aberffraw should pay to the King (brenhin) of Lloegyr ; then he was called King of London. for there were many kings (brenhinedd) formerly in Lloegyr.' ${ }^{2}$
All this may be confused tradition, but Cæsar himself testified to the number of kings in Britain, so that there is every reason to believe that the tradition of a head chieftain, of whom the Welsh chieftains were under-chieftains, may not be devoid of truth.

[^102]il. the tribal chleftanship that of a family.
Canp. vi. In the Welsh Codes the tribal system of Wales is made throughout to turn upon the possession of Cymric blood, and Cymru in the time of the Codes had become to a great extent geographically identical with modern Wales.

Most of Wales originally Goidelic.

The real Cumbria further North.

But Mr. Skene has shown that before the invasion of Cunedda and his sons the Cymric population was confined to the eastern part of Wales only. 'We find,' he writes, 'the seaboard of Wales on the west in the occupation of the Gwyddyl, or Gael, and the Cymry confined to the eastern part of Wales only and placed between them (i.e. the Gwyddyls) and the Saxons. A line drawn from Conway, on the north, to Swansea, on the south, would separate the two races of the Gwyddyl and the Cymry on the west and on the east. In North Wales the Cymry possessing Powys, with the Gwyddyl in Gwynedd, and Mona or Anglesey. In South Wales the Cymry possessing Gwent and Morganwg, with the Gwyddyl in Dyfed, and Brecknock occupied by the mysterious Brychan and his family.' ${ }^{1}$

Mr. Skene shows, in fact, that, whilst Powys and the Severn Valley were ancient Cymric districts, the stronghold of the Cymry was the real Cumbria further north, viz. from the Dee and the Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde. ${ }^{2}$

Accordingly, when Cunedda and his sons in the

[^103]${ }^{2}$ With the exception of Pictish
fifth century came from the north with their tribal following of Cymry to drive out the Gwyddyls from Wales, and only succeeded in doing it after two or three generations of constant conflict, it does not seem likely that they should recognise them as of their own Cymric kindred just because both conquerors and conquered were Celtic in race. The Cymry were new comers, and conquered North Wales and Anglesey first, and it was not until the time of Cunedda's great-grandson Maelgwn that they became masters of South Wales also. Even then, as regards the old inhabitants, they were still a conquering tribe.

There is a curious passage in the Venedotian Code which shows that the true Cymric land was in the north, even after the time of Maelgwn. Under the heading 'Privileges of Arvon' the following story is told :-

- Here Elidyr the Courteous, a man from the North, was slain, and after his death the men of the North came here to avenge him. The chiefs, their leaders, were Clydno Eiddin [of Edinburgh ?. Nudd the Generous, son of Senyllt, Mordar the Generous, son of Servari, and Rydderch, the Generous, son of Tudwal Tudglyd rof Strathelyde?, and ther came to Arron, and because Elidyr was slain at Aber Mewydus, in Arron, they burned Arvon as a further revenge. And then Run, son of Maelgwn, and the men of Gwynedd, assembled in arms, and proceeded to the banks of the Gweryd [Forth?] in the North, and there they were long disputing who should take the lead through the River Gwerrd. Then Run sent a messenger to Gwynedd, to ascertain who were entitled to the lead, and some say that Maeldar the elder, the Lord of Penardd, adjudged it to the men of Arvon. Iorwerth, the son of Madog, on the authority of his own information, affirms that Idno the Aged assigned it to the men of the black-headed shafts. And thereupon the men of Arvon advanced in the van, and were valorous there, and Taliesin sang-

Behold from the ardency of their blades
With Run the reddener of armies,
The men of Arvon with their ruddy lances.

C'unedda and his sons from the North.

Chap. VI. And then, on account of the length of time they remained in arms, their wives slept with their bond-servants, and on that account Run granted them fourteen privileges. . . . And if there be who shall doubt one of these privileges, the community at Bangor and that of Beuno shall uphold them.' ${ }^{1}$

There can be little doubt that this story is connected with a disputed succession on the death of Maelgwn. Possibly the question in dispute may have been what Cymric family had the right to the head-chieftainship, and the expedition of Elidyr from the north may have been to claim it. He is said to have married the daughter of Maelgwn. Be this as it may, the story shows that the traditional connection was not then broken between the Cymry of Wales and the old tribal home further north from whence they had sprung.

Speaking broadly then, this invasion of Cunedda and his sons was one of those tribal movements of which history is so full, in which tribes allied in blood when conquered are as a matter of course treated as strangers and made what Bede calls 'tributary to the conquering tribe.' The Saxons reduced conquered Teutonic tribes into gafolyelders, and these gafolgelders were probably very much what the Welsh Codes call aillts and taeogs.

That Cunedda came from the north, that his court may have been at Carlisle, that he may possibly have held office in the Roman army, that his force on the Roman Wall was 900 horse (i.e. a Roman legion), that he wore the gold belt which was the badge of the Roman Dux, and that some of lis ancestors' names were Roman-all this is not in

[^104]
## The Tribal Chieftainship that of a Family. 143

the least inconsistent with his being the head-chieftain of Northern Cymric tribes. ${ }^{1}$ The great German Hermann was nearly all this, and, no doubt, his Cunedda's Roman Roman training was one secret of his power. Roman forces withdrawn, tribal instincts would rise again into prominence, and conquests would be made on tribal lines. ${ }^{2}$

The very phrase 'Cunedda and his sons' suggests that his chieftainship was a tribal one, and it is perfectly consistent with tribal rules that it should be that of a royal family rather than a merely personal or individual thing.

It was also in accordance with tribal instincts that his sons should be sub-chieftains (mechdeyrns) and share in his kingdom, giving their names to the subordinate divisions of the conquered country ruled by them.

There are traces of this family or tribal character of the chieftainship as well in the legends of their history as in the succession to the head-chieftainship. Traces such as these are not without value where real history is wanting.

In the 'Life of St. Carannog, ${ }^{3}$ it is incidentally stated that Cunedda had sereral sons, that the firstborn was Tybiaun, who died before Cunedda's raid into Wales. But it goes on to say that his brother Meiriaun divided the possessions of his father among his brethren.

[^105][^106]Chap. VI.
So in the 'Life of St. Cadoc,' ${ }^{1}$ the sons of Glywys, a so-called regulus of part of Glamorganshire and Gwent, natalico more divided their father's kingdom between them, every one taking his special province, whilst we learn from another legend that Gwynllyw the eldest ruled over the whole as princeps dominator. ${ }^{2}$

Thus chieftainship in a tribe seems to have been the family possession of a gwely, like the 'tir gwelyawc' of the proprietary tribesmen.

So again in the succession to the head-chieftainship, it would almost seem as though there were traces of recurring periods in the royal family history when a new choice had to be made, and the headship became settled in a single family chosen out from the others. This choice obviously involved the subordination of the other families.

Thus from among the descendants of Cunedda Maelgwn was chosen, and the placing of him in the chair made of birds' wings on the sea-shore, according to the legend recorded in the Welsh Laws, may well have been the form taken by the ceremony on his election to the headship of all Cymru. ${ }^{3}$
Maelgwn.
Maelyurn's accession was evidently an epoch in Welsh tribal history. He took up his residence at Aberffraw as brenkin of Venedotia. There were other ruling families in different districts, but the headship of Cymru remained thenceforth in his family alone. ${ }^{\text {. }}$

[^107]The Tribal Chieftainship that of a Family. 145
He died, as already said, in the first visitation Chap. Ti. of the 'Yellow Death,' about A.D. 547, and was succeeded in the head-chieftainship ultimately by his great-grandson Iago, who again was a great leader, Iago. and fell in the Battle of Chester, A.D. 613.

Lastly, Iago's great-grandson, Cadualadr, after cadraising the hopes of the Cymry by his leadership, died, it is said, during the second visitation of the ' Yellow Death,' about A.D. 664-683. ${ }^{1}$

So much for the traditional succession to the chieftainship in the family of Cunedda.

But, side by side with the Aberffraw line of Cymric chieftains, there seems to have been another of the same kind in Powys.

As already said, Powys was seemingly Cymric Ruling before the advent of Cunedda and his sons. And family of Powys. the royal family of Catel-Tigern-Lug, according to Nennius, dated back to the time of St. Germanus. ${ }^{2}$ He and his nine sons, according to Nennius, were baptised by St. Germanus, and blessed in the words, ' A king shall not be wanting of thy seed for ever'; and Nemius adds, writing early in the eighth century:-
> ' And, agreeably to the prediction of St. Germanus, he became a king, all his sons were kings, and from their offspring the whole country of Powys has been governed to this day.'

Thus legend and tradition alike testify to the tribal character of Welsh chieftainship as that of a ruling family, and not merely of a single person or leader.

[^108]Chap. vi. In the constitution of the brenhin's household, as

The chief's household under the Codes.

Hisfamily all edlings till settled on land. described in the Codes, the tribal character of the royal family was in part at least sustained.

It had its penteulu, or chief of household, like any other family, and he must be of the royal blood-a son or nephew. A mere uchelwr could not occupy the position, because he was not of the chieftain's kindred. The brenhin himself could not be chief of the household because he had another office. Nor could the edling, or designated successor of the brenhin. He had another office and a higher privilege, equal to that of the brenhin. ${ }^{1}$

The family of royal privilege is said in the Codes to consist of sons, nephews, and first cousins. In a sense they all were edlings; ${ }^{2}$ but they ceased to belong to it when they obtained separate possession of land for themselves. Their privilege became then that of their land.
' When the edling dies he is to leave his horses and his dogs to the brenhin, for that is the only ebediw he is to render, and the reason why he ought to render no other is because he is a near relation (aylaut) to the brenhin. The near relations (aylodeu) of the brenhin are his sons, his nephews, and his first cousins. Some say that every one of these is an edling ; others say that no one is an edling except that person to whom the brenhin shall give hope of succession and designation.

- The edling and those whom we have above mentioned shall possess that privilege until they obtain land; after that, their privilege shall be identified with the privilege of the land they obtain, except they obtain land in villenage (vyleyn dyr, in another MS. kaeth dir). In that case the privilege of the land shall augment until it shall become free.' ${ }^{3}$

Hence the younger sons of the royal family, settled

[^109]
## The Tribal Chieftainship that of a Family. 147

upon land, would become eventually breyrs and Crap. Mi. uchelwrs. But such a son, placed at the head of the llys of a cantref or cymud, became in some sense a territorial chief. As such, he held a royal court of privileged officers among the ucheluris of his district. So it was in Howel's time, ${ }^{1}$ and his legislation, as already mentioned, recognised these sub-chieftains.

Hence it follows that the royal stock was from time to time, as it were, swarming off into new family stocks, or, to change the metaphor, overflowing into and swelling the number of Cymric proprietors of land. New kindreds, offshoots from the royal

Descendants of chieftains become uchelrers and merge in the tribe kindred, were from time to time taking their places side by side with the other kindreds of Cymru.

How many of the Cymric kindreds were descended from Cunedda and his sons, or others of his kindred who came with him to conquer Wales, or were sprung from the royal family of Powys, we cannot tell. But the centuries between Cunedda's chieftainship and Howel's afforded quite time enough for the Cymric stock in Wales to multiply without bringing into their tribe the conquered people of the land. A race which guarded its blood so keenly, which made the stranger family wait, unless hastened by intermarriage, till the ninth degree of kindred was reached before its members were sufficiently naturalised to be admitted into fellowship and freedom-allowed to bear arms and to share in responsibility for crimeswas not likely to have admitted the conquered races wholesale into tribal union. The two visitations of the 'Yellow Death' probably thinned the population

[^110]Crap. Vi. and prepared the way for the new comers, and whether the older races of the land were Goidelic or Brython, they were most likely regarded as strangers in blood to the conquering tribesmen, and as such treated as taeogs or aillts.

The oldinhabitants remain strangers in blood.

Thus whilst chieftainship in the tribe was the prerogative of a family rather than of a person, and the tie of blood-relationship bound together the headchieftains and the sub-chieftains and the chiefs of kindreds and of households, and whilst the continuity of kindred so secured throughout the whole hierarchy of chieftains bound the whole body of tribesmen together by the tie of blood, the gulf remained as deep as ever between the tribesmen and the strangers in blood.

Lastly, if the Cymry came into Wales with Cunedda, or in the migration from the north connected by tradition with his name, then, unless it were in Powys, we must not look for evidence of the Cymric tribal system in Wales anywhere earlier than the coming of Cunedda, or in South Wales before Maelgwn's conquest, and the first visitation of the ' Yellow Death.'

It would be rash to regard this conclusion as other than provisional, till further light has been thrown upon the subject by Celtic scholars, but it has an important bearing upon the interpretation of the earlier evidence to which attention will hereafter be called, and which has to do with the contact in the sixth century between the Cymric conquerors of South Wales and the Christian Church.
iil. the chieft.inship in its relation to land.
The Extents of the so-called manor of Aberffraw have already familiarised the reader with the position, at the time of the conquest ${ }^{\circ}$ of North Wales, of the chieftain in relation, first to his so-called manor with its maerdref, its free officials of the court, and the hamlets of nativi holding in trefgevery and paying rents in produce, and, secondly, to the other hamlets of the cantref, whether occupied by weles of free tribesmen, paying food rents commuted into money, or by nativi, still for the most part paying rents in kind. But the family character of his land ownership was hidden, so to speak, under the shadow of the manorial aspect of his lordship.

The originally family character of the chieftain's ownership is, however, apparent enough in the charters of donations made by chieftains in the twelfth century, to say nothing of the earlier evidence hereafter to be examined.

There must always be some doubt how far under the tribal system the land which was set apart for the chieftainship in each cantref or cymud, and the food rents from the tribesmen or strangers in blood, were at the chieftain's disposal, and how far his family (aelodeu) had rights of maintenance out of them.

It might well be that in newly conquered districts the chieftain's power of disposal was exceptionally great, not only because his own power would be greatest after victory, but also because there would be freshly conquered lands which could be

Снар. vi. allotted or disposed of without displacing any tribesmen.

Moreover, if the inhabitants of conquered regions were retained on the land as aillts and taeogs, and made tributary (according to tribal custom), it would be easy to transfer to a church or to a relative the tribute of a holding or district without disturbing anyone.

Further, even in ordinary times the chieftain's power as head of the tribe over unoccupied waste may always have been recognised. On the other hand, what in modern phrase is meant by transfer of the land itself, or transfer of the freehold, was probably an idea as foreign to the tribal system in its early stages as individual contrasted with family ownership. Transfer of the tribute and lordship of a district was probably far more in accordance with tribal conceptions. The tribal and family use of the land upon payment of customary food rents or tribute was, perhaps, at first, the nearest approach to ownership, and the transfer of the right to the tribute the nearest approach to alienation.

In later times, as the lordship became more and more manorial, modern ideas crept in together with modern forms of conveyance. But even then there is incidental evidence in the charters giving effect to the grants to churches, made as late as the twelfth

Consent of the chieftain's family needful to the validity of his donations. century, that the subject of the donations was not the individual and independent property of the chieftain making them. They show that his power of making the donation was limited. To make it valid his act required not, indeed, the consent and confirmation of any council or witan, but the consent

## The Chieftainship in its Relation to Land. 151

and confirmation of his family, as in other cases of chap. VI. 'tir gwelyawc.'

Thus, in a charter of donation to the Abbey of The Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire, 'Resus, Prince of South Wales,' calls himself proprietarius princeps, and recites that he had built the abbey and made a donation of it and of land to its abbot in A.D. 1184, and yet it was necessary for his three sons to confirm the donation, thus, 'together with him establishing it before many of his army, in the Church of St. Brigid at Raiadr.' And further, 'he and his sons and all his posterity ' joined in giving it the usual immunities. ${ }^{1}$

So again, to take an example from another district, the necessity of the concurrence of heirs in the disposition of property belonging to the families of chieftains is very obvious in the following case, notwithstanding the lateness of date and the use of ordinary Norman forms of converancing.

A certain Gruffydd of Dinas Bran (son of Madoc, the founder of the Abbey of Valle Crucis, and of Isota, daughter of Ithel, Prince of Gwent) had four sons, and died A.d. 1270.

After his death, in 5 Ed. I., an inquisition was held

Donation by a chieftain to his wife for her life of the cymed of Maelor Saesneg. to inquire into the legality of the seizure by Prince Llewelyn of certain lands held in dower by his widow.?

From the finding of the jury, it appears that Gruffyd, on his marriage with Emma, gave to her

[^111]Chap. vi. the whole cymwd (patria) of Maelor Saesneg (in

With the consent of his heirs.

Purchase from 'the heirs of Erbistock.'

Declaration of the custom of Wales. Flintshire) for her life. The charter by which he did this shows that he did it with the assent and consent of his heirs (assensu et consensu heredum meorum). The cymwd is described as 'totam patriam que vocatur Maylorseysnec,' and it contained several villce or villatte, just as the Denbigh Extent might lead us to expect. The deed was witnessed by Anianus, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Abbot of Valle Crucis, the donor's four sons, and others.

Then, by another charter, the same Gruffydd, again 'with the assent and consent of his heirs,' made a similar grant to Emma, of the property which came to him from his deceased brother Hywel, part of which had been purchased 'from all the heirs of Herbestoc' (de omnibus heredibus de Herbestoc. ${ }^{1}$ ) And, lastly, the four sons confirm to their mother, by a separate charter, all the above-mentioned property, also in addition that which their grandmother Isolda had purchased with their grandfather's concurrence. The Jury, on inquisition made into these circumstances, swore that this dower was given in due form by Gruffydd, with the confirmation of his heredes after his death, and with the confirmation of Llewelyn, then Prince of Wales, who confirmed all the donations. And they said that the custom of Wales was that everyone at his own will could give to his wife his lands and tenements, before marriage or after, at his pleasure.

The prince, Llewelyn, had evicted the widow from this property, and the jury explained the reason of

[^112]his action, and stated that the custom of Wales was Crap. vi. such that as often as anyone from fear of war, or on other occasion, leaves his land and retires from Wales to other parts, the lord has a right to seize that land as escheat to him, and deal with it at his pleasure.

Strictly speaking, this case must not be taken as showing that under the tribal system dower was a recognised incident, but rather that the practice was sanctioned by later custom of a husband, with the consent of his family, giving his wife a life interest in some of his property.

Again, it shows, no doubt, that chieftains in later times could and did purchase and dispose of property with family consent. The main provision made in this case was, however, far more of the character of a life interest in the tributes or dues of a lordship than a life interest in a modern landed estate. The grant embraced a whole patria or cymud, and the Denbigh Extent has made it clear that within the cymod there were under the tribal system numerous weles of tribesmen and of so-called nativi. In the case of Maelor Saesneg, it may not have been so, as the district of which it was a part had been, for a time at least, under Saxon rule, and during this period it may well have lost some of its tribal characteristics.

On the whole, it must be recognised that even under more strictly tribal conditions, with the consent of their family, chieftains could and did make donations to churches, as well as to their wives, and that these might be of two kinds:-
(1) The transfer of the tribute or food rent of land from the chieftain, and the support of his establishTwo kinds of donations. ment, to a church, or a monastery, without changing

Снар. vr. its amount, so constituting the occupiers of that land, probably most often aillts or taeogs, thenceforth tenants of a church, or monastery, instead of tenants of the chieftain.

Of $a$ defini area of land.

Foodrents commuted into tunc.
(2) The donation of a certain area of land, on which the church or monastery was built, freed from all secular payments or dues, showing that there was tribal land of some kind, cultivated or waste, allotted under tribal conditions to the chieftain or his family, or, possibly, escheat to him, which he, with the consent of his family, could dispose of to a church, or otherwise. ${ }^{1}$
IV. THE CHIEFTAIN'S FOOD-RENTS FROM FREE TRIBESMEN.

The question of the transfer or donation of land by chieftains is so closely connected with the foodrents from the land that it will be convenient at this stage of the inquiry to examine more closely into their character.

In the Extents the food-rents of the free tribesmen were found to be commuted into definite money payments made under the name of tunc.

Accordingly in the Codes the customary unit of


#### Abstract

${ }^{1}$ This conclusion, drawn from later charters, does not seem to be inconsistent with the Codes.

It is true that the Triads represent that the right of coaration of the waste was a part of the cyvarwys of every tribesman, and that 'every wild and waste belongs to the country and kindred in common ' (W.L. XIII. ii. 101). But this is consistent with the power of the brenhin to dis-


pose of the special portion of the waste in every cymwd allotted to him. According to the Codes it was the official duty of the maer and canghellor 'to keep the waste of the brenhin until he shall dispose of it' (D.C. II. xii. 9 and G.C. I. xxxv.), and, according to the Venedotian Code (II. xviii. 7), these officers did not lose their right of service upon it even when it was disposed of.
guestra is commuted into what is called the tunc Chap. MI. pound.

The
grestra
of the
Codes
com-
muted into the tune pound.

The firma unius noctis.

It is obvious that Cymric chieftains, when on progress from one place to another, whether on military or hunting and hawking expeditions, needed both shelter and also provision for the nightly entertainment of themselves and their company.

The onus of making provision for their shelter fell, under the Codes, upon the aillts or non-tribesmen.

The brenhin's hall consisted of six columns or poles, probably often newly felled trees, placed in parallel rows of three, and fastened together at the top to the roof-tree, thus forming a kind of nave. Then at some distance behind the poles low walls of stakes and wattle shut in the aisles. The roof was covered with branches and thatch, and there were wattle doors of entrance at the end. Along the aisles behind the poles were placed beds of rushes, called guelys, and the footboards of the beds were used as seats in the daytime. ${ }^{1}$ All houses put up in this wav were alike, and each piece of timber had its customary value from the poles and the roof-tree down to the stakes and the wattle. ${ }^{2}$

[^113]Provision of the chieftain's shelter when on progress to be made by the aillts.

Construc. tion of the chieftain's hall.
chap. it. The fire was in the middle between the central posts, and divided the upper portion, where sat the chief, the edling, and principal officers, from the lower and humbler end of the hall. The silentiary stood by one of the central posts, and it was his duty to call attention by striking it with his staff. ${ }^{1}$

Such a hall as this was easily constructed and removed, and owed what fleeting grandeur it possessed to its curtains, and the weapons of the temporary inmates hung upon its sides.

At first sight the construction of buildings such as this for a few nights' shelter of the chieftain and his company might seem too onerous a customary obligation to be periodically imposed upon the chieftain's 'villeins.' But it is recorded in the Boldon Book that the villani of the Bishop of Durham had to furnish for his great hunts just such a hall in the forest, 60 feet long and 16 feet wide between the posts, together with a buttery, steward's room, chamber, privy, and chapel, ${ }^{2}$ so that the following passage from the 'Venedotian Code' need not be surprising :-
'Nine houses which the villeins of the brenhin are to erect for him: a hall, a chamber, a buttery, a stable, a dog-house, a barn, an oven, a privy, and a dormitory.' ${ }^{3}$

This provision frequently wanted.

Whether these buildings were put up afresh for every royal visit, or were only repaired on occasion, we are not told. Possibly the brenhin may have required such provision at frequent intervals, for besides his hunting and hawking he seems very often to have called out the tribesmen to join his host in the mili-

[^114][^115]
## The Chieftain's Food-rents from Free Tribesmen. 157

tary exercises which perhaps had succeeded to more strictly marauding expeditions of an earlier period.

- The king (brenhin) is not to go with his host out of the country except once a year, but they are to attend the king in his own dominion whenever he shall please. The king is to have from every villein-tref a man, a horse, and an ase to form encampments, at his own cost.' ${ }^{1}$

According to Giraldus Cambrensis, Welsh tribesmen were eager to join in warlike expeditionsgens armis dedita tuta. ${ }^{2}$ He represents not only the uchelwrs (nobiles), but all the people as eager to rush from the plough at the signal for war.

The tribesmen were free from having men or dogs quartered upon them except during the great progress of the brenhin's household in winter.

- Neither maer nor canghellor is to be imposed upon a free maenol, nor progress, nor dovraeth, nor youths (mackbyeit), nor anything (except as above) except the great progress of the household in the winter.' ${ }^{3}$

What, then, was this great progress of the household to which the tribesmen were subject?
'The chief of the [brenhin's] household is to have a progress assigned him by the king after separating from him at Christmas, himself and the household. The household is to consist of three

The progress of the household after Christmas. parties: the elder party, the middle party, and the sounger party; and alternately he is to be with each : and the party he is with is to choose its house. And so long as he shall be on that progress he is to have servants, a doorward and a cook, and servants of the table, and these are to have the skins of the animals which are slaughtered, and the cooks are to have the tallow, the fragments, and the entrails.' ${ }^{4}$
The rough character of these progresses, though restricted by the Codes, is apparent enough. The slaughter of animals for the night's entertainment,

[^116]> Military expeditions and exercises.

## 'нар. VI.

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 o
chap. vi. and the division among the followers of the skins, the tallow, and the entrails, are graphic features indeed. These progresses were, moreover, quite apart from the military and hunting or hawking expeditions of the brenhin himself, because when they were concluded the chief of the household was to return to him, and remain with him for the rest of the year.

The progress of the chieftain and his company.

The gnestra of the free tribesmen for his ' night's entertainment.'

The brenhin's own progress was of another kind. He and his company were not quartered on the tribesmen, but, whilst his aillts had to provide him with his necessary buildings for shelter, it was the duty of the free tribesmen to contribute the food and mead for his entertainment.

This they did by the payment of the gwestva or food-rent. And, as before said, there are incidental indications that it was provided originally on the system of the 'night's entertainment.'

Amongst the curious Welsh phrases into which the number nine entered, one is recorded in the 'Welsh Laws ' ${ }^{1}$ which is significant in this connec-tion-Nau nos guesty-' the nine nights of the guesthouse.' ${ }^{2}$ Further, in the 'Dimetian Code' each tref providing its gwestva to the chieftain is 'to light the fire three nights and three days for him,' ${ }^{3}$ suggesting at least that the gwestvas were arranged so as to provide for periods of three nights at a time.

Again, the Venedotian food-rent, or tunc pound in lieu of it, was to be accompanied by the payment of $24 d$. of supper-silver for the 24 servants of 'every

[^117]The Chieftain's Food-rents from Free Tribesmen. 159
feast at which mead was drunk, ${ }^{1}$ thus leading to the Chap. v1. inference that the tunc pound of Venedotia was provision for one night's carousal of the brenkin and his company.

There is some obscurity in the Codes with regard to the method of clustering the households or homesteads of tribesmen into the groups from which the guestca, or tunc pound in lieu of it, was due.

In the Venedotian Code ${ }^{2}$ the tyddyns were grouped into randirs, the randirs into garaels, the gavaels into trefs, and the trefs into maenols. And the maenol was the unit which paid the guestra, or tunc pound. In South Wales the guestra-paying group was the treft, and this was composed of four randirs, each of which contained 312 erws of 'arable, pasture, and wood, and space for buildings on the twelve erws. ${ }^{3}$

Thus the givestva-paying unit in North Wales seems at first sight to have been a certain number of tyddyns, whilst in South Wales it embraced a certain area of land. It is possible, however, that there may be some way of reconciling the two methods, for there are indications that in the description in the Venedotian Code the tyddyn is taken as a unit of land measurement. On the whole, however, it is better, perhaps, not to attempt at this point any further explanation than that the group of holdings called a maenol in Venedotia and a trej in South Wales was the greestva-paying unit, bearing in mind also the fact, learned from the Denbigh Extent, that the villate, whatever they might be, were the fixed units, and that the weles of tribesmen were

[^118]Chap. vi. easily moved, with their cattle and their internally complex tribal rights, from one district to another.
In what Passing, then, to the gwestva, or food-rent itself, the greestra consisted.

In the
Venedo. tian Code. in what did it consist?

In the Venedotian Code the 'tunc of a free maenol' is thus described :-

From every free maenol the brenhin is to have a vat (keruyn) of mead nine handbreadths in length diagonally.

If mead be not obtained, two of bragot ; and if bragot be not obtained, four of ale $(g 6 r y i w=$ cerevisia $) .{ }^{1}$
The rat of liquor was, therefore, a prominent feature in the gwestva, but other things also were included. A few clauses further on, the 'king's guestva from a free maenol' is more fully described, thus :-

The measure of the brenhin's gwestva in winter from a free maenol: that is to say :-

A horseload of the best flour that shall grow on the land.
The carcase of a cow or an ox.
A full vat (keruyn) of mead 9 handbreadths in its depth diagonally and as much in breadth (sic).

Seven thraves of oats of one band for provender.
A three-year-old swine.
A salted flitch of 3 fingerbreadths in thickness.
A vessel of butter 3 handbreadths in depth, not heaped, and 3 in breadth.

And if these cannot be obtained a pound is to be paid in lieu of them, and that is the tunc pound, and $24 d$. to the king's servants.

The statement is then repeated that if mead cannot be obtained two vats of bragot or four vats of ale are to be paid.

The tunc pound covered all, and it is further stated that it is to be reckoned as divided thus, viz. : 'Six score [pence] for bread, three score for liquor (llyn), and three score for enllyn.'

The tunc pound, therefore, contained twelve score, Crap. vi. or 240 pence. And as in the Latin version a The tuno 'score of silver' is rendered as 'uncia argenti,' it is poond was clear that we have to deal with weights of silver instead of coin, and with the Gallic pound of silver. 20 pennyweights to the ounce and 12 ounces to the pound. The equation, therefore, between the foodrent and the pound of silver may, after all, be founded on ancient custom.

In the Gwentian and Dimetian Codes the tref is the unit for payment of the tunc pound, and the guestra, of which the latter was the equivalent, is described almost in the same words as in the Venedotian Code, leaving out some of the smaller items. It consisted of the horseload of wheat-flour, an ox, 7 thraves of oats, a vat (gerbyn) of honey, and 24 of silver. ${ }^{1}$

When honey was wanting, two vats of bragot or four of beer were to be paid instead. And the rat, or ceroyn, is described in these words :-
> 'The height of the vat is to be nine handbreadths when measured diagonally from the further bottom groove to the hither rim. . . . And it ought to be sufficiently capacious for the brenhin and his elder to bathe therein.' ${ }^{2}$

There was also a summer guestra, which was to consist of :-
a fat cow, a fat wether 3 years old, and a sow of 3 winters three fingers thick, and [it is added] 'the trev is to bring all these to the king, and to light a fire three nights and three days for him.' ${ }^{3}$

In the Gwentian Code the summer gwestva is only obscurely alluded to, but in other points the

[^119]снap. vi. description in the Dimetian Code is closely followed, except that instead of the vat of honey the words used are 'what shall suffice for a vat of honey,' probably in both cases the meaning being as much honey as would brew into a vat of mead.

The cervin or vat of mead, bragot, or beer.

The vat (keruyn or ceroyn) of mead, or, if mead were wanting, to be filled four times with beer ( $g$ bryw or cbrbf = cerevisia), is of some interest. The word used throughout connects it not so much with mead as with the Gallic beverage beer. Bragot also seems to have been a Gallic drink. The word bragot (Irish, brach), in Latin brace, occurs constantly in connection with the food-rents of Brittany in the Redon Chartulary. It is mentioned by Pliny, and was used sometimes for malt and sometimes for the liquor brewed from it. ${ }^{1}$

This vat, by which all three beverages were measured for the gwestva, is always described in the Codes as nine handbreadths in its diagonal measure, following the traditional method of using the gaugingrod adopted by the professional gauger.

The method of measuring vessels in this way by their diagonal is a widely extended and ancient one. Thus, in the Icelandic Gragas the same method of measuring the size of a vessel is used. ${ }^{2}$

In the Latin version of the Dimetian Code the dolium, or vat, of mead is described as nine palms in longo et in lato, ${ }^{3}$ but in the other Latin version the nine palms are to be per obliquum a fundo usque ad

[^120][^121]summum. ${ }^{1}$ These may probably be taken as inexact Cнap. VI. translations from the Welsh, 'nine handbreadths diagonally measured.'

The handbreadth was a measure distinct from the palm, and, reckoning the width and height as equal, the contents of a round vessel with upright sides and with such a diagonal measurement would contain not much more or less than the Winchester quarter of 64 gallons ( 280 litres).

Thus, presumably, 64 gallons of mead or four times the amount of beer, together with the carcase of a cow or an ox, and a horseload of flour, with bacon and butter added, was the gwestra contributed by the maenol in Venedotia and the tref in South Wales towards the nightly carousals of the chieftain and his company.

The normal retinue or company of the brenhin is described in the Venedotian Code as consisting of thirty-six horsemen-equivalent to uchelurs or equites -i.e. of the twenty-four officials of the king and

## The

 normal retinue or company of the chieftain. queen, and twelve gwestais, possibly uchelurs, bringing the ywestras from the twelve guestra-paying maenols in the cantref; and there would be numerous hangers-on and dependents, including the twenty-four servants to whom supper silver was due. ${ }^{\text {a }}$How many nights' carousal were provided for by the twelve guestras from the cantref in which the chieftain was making his progress remains undisclosed.

[^122]V. the Chieftain's dues from non-tribesmen.

Crap. vi. The main burden of the chieftain's progresses and maintenance was placed, no doubt, upon the shoulders of others than the free tribesmen.

The twelve grvestvas of free tribesmen from each cantref-six from each cymwd-were a substantial contribution to his maintenance, but it was supplemented by other provisions.

The maertref of the chief.

Four maenols in each cymwd assigned to aillts. Their services.

In the first place, according to the Venedotian Code, the brentin is entitled in every cymwd to two trefs-one for his maertref and the other for his waste and summer pasture. ${ }^{1}$

These two trefs may be looked upon as constituting what in the Extents are described as the prince's manor in each cymwd. The obligations of the men of the maertref have already been alluded to in connection with the Manor of Aberffraw. ${ }^{2}$

Apart from this special provision for the chieftain, according to the Venedotian Code, the cymwd was to be arranged in twelve groups, or maenols.

Six of these, as we have seen, were gwestva-paying maenols of free tribesmen. Of the eight maenols left, two were set apart specially for the support of the maer and the canghellor. The remaining four were to be assigned to aillts to support dogs and horses and for the purposes of progress (chylch) and quarters (dowraeth).

The maer and canghellor were to make progress

[^123]maertref of Dynrobyn in Ros Isdulas will be found in the Appendix, p. 91.
in parties of four among the king's aillts twice in the carp. vi. year. And besides this:-
'The aillts of the king (brenhin) are not to support him nor his household. . . . They are to furnish pack-horses to the king for the hosts, and they are to present the queen once every year with meat and drink, and they are to support the dogs, the huntsmen, the falconers, and the youths, all of them once every year.' ${ }^{1}$
It has already been mentioned that the aillts had to put up the chieftain's buildings, and furnish horses and men, with hatchets, for making encampments on his military expeditions.

In addition to these obligations, according to the Venedotian Code, the bond maenols had to furnish dannyearly two dawn-bwyds, or food-gifts.

In Winter.

The bryds or food-gifts of the nontribesmen.

A three-year-old swine.
A vessel of butter 3 handbreadths in depth and three in breadth.

A rat full of bragot nine handbreadths in depth diagonally.
A thrave of oats of one band for provender.
26 loaves of the best bread grown on the land. . . .
A man to kindle the fire in the hall that night, or $1 d$.

## In Summer.

A three-year-old wether.
A dish of butter.
26 loaves.
A cheese of one milking of all the cows in the tref.?
According to the Gwentian Code, the daun buryds were as under:

Winter.
Vat of ale.
A sow 3 fingers thick.
A salted flitch.
60 loaves of bread. . . .
20 sheaves of oats.
$1 d$. from every randir to the servants.
${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xix. 9-11.
${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. xxvii. 2.

## Summer.

CHAP. VI.

Tub of butter 9 handbreadths in width and a handbreadth in thickness with the thumb standing.

Cheese of a meal's milk from all the taeogs, along with bread. ${ }^{1}$

According to the Dimetian Code, the amount of the dawn-bwyds was as under:

Winter.
A sow 3 fingers thick in her hams, \&c. (or tub of butter).
A flitch of salted bacon.
60 loaves of wheaten bread (six of fine flour).
Vat full of bragot.
20 sheaves of oats and one band.
$1 d$. for the servants. ${ }^{2}$
As to the summer dawn-bwyd there is some obscurity, but it did not differ much from that of the other Codes.
VI. CORROBORATION OF TIIE CODES BY THE EXTENTS.

Evidence of the Extents.

It refers back to the period before the conquest.

It will be convenient in concluding this chapter to return once more from the Codes to the Extents, in order to test the reality and authenticity of the customary law recorded in the former by comparison with the facts found by the surveyors actually existing at the date of the latter.

The earliest Extent of Aberffraw afforded evidence describing sufficiently clearly the money payments of the free tenants and the rents in kind of the hamlets of nativi. And the result of the petition of the tenants of Penros proved both that the description given was of the condition of things in the time of the princes before the conquest of North

[^124]Wales, and also that the greatest care was taken to Снар. vi. perpetuate the rents and services without alteration.

But we must go to the Denbigh Extent for an example of a villata which was still the geographical unit for payment of the food-rents of the free tribesmen commuted into the tunc pound.

If the reader will look back once again to the analysis of the villata of Prees given above at p. 38, he will see an example of a group of six so-called progenies or weles located together in a single villata, though by no means confined to that one locality.

## The unit

 for payment of the tunc pound in the Denbigh The progenies of Canon and Pythle ap Lauwarghe had several other locations. Their flocks and herds and dwellings were scattered here and there in places where they had rights of grazing. But at Prees they each had rights to the occupation of an undivided sixth part of the villata. And as this villata was a geographical unit from which a tunc pound was due, they had each to pay their sixth part of the pound-i.e. $3 s .4 d$.They were not paying the exact amount at the date of the Extent because there had been escheats and forfeitures. Instead of the full tunc pound the tenants of Prees at the date of the Extent were paying only $9 s$. $11 \frac{1}{4} d$. , but the entry of the surveyor

The villata of Prees paid a tunc pound in the time of the Princes. begins by saying that 'the villata of Prees with its hamlets . . . . in the time of the Princes rendered of tung 20s. $0 \frac{1}{2} d$. when it was entirely in the hands of true heirs before forfeitures.' (See App. p. 57.)

Now the progenies of Pythle, under the name of the grandsons of Pythle, also occupied the whole of the villata of Tebrith, and paid, therefore, the whole of the tunc pound of that villata.

Chap. VI.
So also the villata of Tebrith was a tunc-paying unit.

The unit for payment was a geographical area or district.

It is only in a few cases like these that in the Denbigh Extent a single villata paid the full tunc pound, but there are a great many cases in which two or more clustered together would make up an even pound.

In the meantime the cases of Prees and Tebrith are sufficient to show that the unit of food-rent commuted into the tunc pound was payable from a geographical area or district, and not charged upon particular weles or even groups of weles. In a word, the tribute of the chieftain was thus territorial and not personal. The weles of free tribesmen could be shifted about from one villata to another, and the number of weles could increase or diminish without altering the payments of a particular area or the total of the chieftain's food-rents.
arranged so that the whole of Venedotia should provide for the year's entertainments.
Possibly Venedotian cantref each produced a vat of mead containing sixty-four gallons, the twelve vats from the whole cantref would produce 768 gallons; and if each vat contained the supply for three nights' carousal in the chieftain's hall the cantref would provide for thirty-six nights; and if at the time when the arrangement was made there were ten cantrefs in Venedotia, they might together provide for a year of 360 nights.

There is no evidence that this was the actual arrangement by which the year's supply of mead was provided-in fact, the number of cantrefs may have varied from time to time ${ }^{1}$-but it illustrates the possi-

[^125]bility of dividing a chieftain's territory into fixed Chap. Vi. geographical units, each of which should contribute an aliquot part of the year's supply of mead, just as King Solomon divided his tributary provinces so that each should provide for a month's supply of the wants of his luxurious court.

Besides the food-rents or guestra payments of the free tribesmen of the Codes, there was the burden of the annual progress of the brenhin's household at Christmas. And there were also various services in connection with the furnishing of horses, the support of dogs and youths, which in the Codes fell The upon the non-tribesmen in addition to their food gifts. There are traces of these also in the Extent.

Besides the tunc of each cymwd, generally divided into that from the free tribesmen and nativi respectively, there is always mention of other payments, under the name of pastus, of various kindspastus principis, pastus familice principis, pastus stalonis, pastus penmackew et wayssyon bagheyn, \&c. ${ }^{1}$

In the Latin version of the Dimetian Code the brenhin's household is translated 'familia Regis,' and there can be little doubt that the pastus of the Extent includes the payment in commutation of the annual provision, not only for the progress of the household, but also for other services connected with the keeping of horses and dogs, the fosterage and maintenance of youths, \&c.

Thus, in the Extent of the rillata of Prees, immediately after mention of the tunc, is the entry: ' $D e$

[^126]Chap. vi. pastu the prince had nothing, neither of the pastus of the family of the prince nor other kinds, because all the tenants of this villa do these services in other villce as appears above in each place and villata respectively.'

The word pastus seems to be a word covering a variety of services, to some of which both classes of tenants were liable, nearly all of which at the time of the Extent had become commuted into money payments.

The evidence of the Extents strongly corroborates that of the Codes,

## and the

 twotogether warrant belief in the reality of the tribal customs,
and that in the main the principles of tribal custom have been correctly understood.

## Import-

 ance of this to the understanding both of theOn the whole, as regards the relations of the chieftains to the tribesmen, the description contained in the Codes is corroborated by the facts recorded in the Extents. And, reviewing the evidence as a whole, as regards both the structure of the tribal society of the Cymry and its relation to the land, the facts recorded by the surveyors in the Extents and the explanation of them in the rules of customary law contained in the Codes are sufficiently consistent to warrant belief in the reality of tribal customs which could produce such results.

It would be presumptuous to suppose that in all cases the facts have been correctly grasped and the principles of tribal custom embodied in the Codes rightly understood. But the hope may, perhaps, be permitted that in the main, subject always to fresh evidence and constant reconsideration of what evidence already exists, a solid foundation has been laid for further historical and economic inquiry.

The almost unique advantage possessed by the Cymric tribal system in its survival into the period of Codes and Extents makes it a point of vantage for further research both backwards and forwards. Any
understanding of the modern economic evolution of Casp. vi. society in Wales must start from it. And it may be a stepping-stone also to a knowledge of the earlier past, not only as regards the tribal system in Wales, but also as regards other tribal systems, of which so little is known, but which have, nevertheless, made large contributions to the economic structure of economic evolution of society in Wales, and also of the other tribal systems of Europe. modern European society.
[Note.-In the Extents (8 Ed. I.) of some districts in Cardiganshire quoted in the document added as Appendix F to this edition (p.108), the commots are described as held in so many 'Westuas,' each of five 'Randirs,' and each Westua pays four marks per annum of ' rent of assise,' and also services of providing food for the chief with his family on the yearly progress, as well as that of his huntsmen and youths with dogs and falconers with birds, 'which service is called "Westua." ' The document itself is of a.d. 1306 ( 34 Ed. I.), but the Extents quoted are of A.D. 1280, i.e. fifty-fire years earlier than the Denbigh Extent.]


## CHAPTER VII.

THE TRIBAL SYSTEM AND THE CHURCH.
I. THE IMMUNITY OF THE CHURCI FROM THE EXACTIONS OF TRIBAL CHIEFTAINS.

Chap. We have now to consider another element which
VII. strikes from outside like a wedge into the Welsh Tribal System.

It has already been noticed that the so-called Manor of Aberffraw was divided into two sections by the parish of Cadwaladr or Eghissel. This parish had two churches, one of which has perished. The surviving one contains the well-known stone with the inscription, supposed to be of the seventh century, in memory of St. Cadwaladr's grandfather, Cadvan, who reigned at Aberffraw about A.D. 616-630.
st.
Beuno's monastery at Clynnoc.

The Aberffraw chieftains made many donations to churches. Cadran himself, according to the legends, had been converted by St. Beuno, and the church at Aberffraw - the church of the Palace-and the one at Trefdraeth, were both dedicated to that saint. St. Beuno's monastery at Clymoc on the Carnarvonshire side of the Menai Straits was the gift of Cadvan's son Cadwallon.

The tradition of the gift of the site of this monastery is recorded shortly in the confirmatory charter
of Edward I. ${ }^{1}$ made after the conquest of North Wales on the evidence of the rector of the collegiate church of Clynnoc which had succeeded to the monastery.

Chap.
VII.

Its immanities.
> - A certain Gwithenit gave his own villa of Clynnok Vawr to God and St. Beuno, then Abbot of Clynnok Vawr, for his sonl and the soul of his consobrinus Catwalinus sine censu Regali, et sine consule, sine proprietate alicui, quamdiu fuerit lapis in terra.'

In the legendary life of St. Beuno the story of this gift is given more at length.

After the death of Cadvan (about A.D. 616) St. Beuno is said to have risited Aberffraw in order to purchase land from his son and successor, Cadwallon. In exchange for a golden rod (gucell eur) worth 60 cows, ${ }^{2}$ which Conan (or Cynan) ${ }^{3}$ son of Brochwel (Prince of Powys), had given to St. Beuno to be used as money, Cadwallon gave to the Saint a place called Gwaredauc, in Carnarvonshire. After he had built his church, and was walling in the boundaries, the title to the land was disputed by a woman to whom a child had been born, and who now claimed the land as the inheritance (tref $y$ tat) of her child. She was perhaps the Cymric widow of an aillt, whose child had inheritance by maternity. Immediately St. Beuno went with the woman to Cadwallon, who, possibly, had treated the land as escheat, and demanded either other land or return of the golden rod. The Prince,

[^127]Chap. having refused his demand, was left by St. Beuno

Immunities of the church of Cadwaladr.

Legendary miracles in defence of immunities. under a curse. Whereupon his cousin Guidevit
'for the sake of his soul and of the soul of his cousin Cadwallon, gave to God and Beuno for ever his tref called Kelynnawc (Clynnoc) without tribute (heb vab), without service (heb ardreth), \&c.' ${ }^{1}$
The practical result of donations such as these to the saints and to the Church appears to have been to take the land so given once for all and absolutely from under the control of the chieftain of the district, and all tribal tribute and service to him.

Thus, in the 'Record of Carnarvon,' the land belonging to the church of St. Cadwaladr was described as follows :-
> 'Eghissel is a free villa and held of St. Cadevaladre the King and there are in this villa two weles (wele Ith ap Tanhern and wele Welsonfraide ap Tanherñ) and the heirs are so and so. And nothing is thence rendered to the Prince per annum, nor do they make suit to either comot or hundred, nor pay reliefs nor amobr. And they say they are free to grind in their own houses; but they say that they owe appearance at two great turns of our lord Prince per annum for all other services. And in the second wele there are $3 \frac{1}{2}$ bovates escheated, which the Communitas of this villa now holds. Summa per annum, vii.s.' ${ }^{2}$

It is important to observe further in how many cases the miraculous stories attributed to the Welsh saints in the legends turn upon the necessity of constantly guarding this freedom of Church lands from ordinary obligations to the tribal chieftains. Thus, to take another example from the life of St. Beuno, the same Cynan, Prince of Powys, who had given him the golden rod, had also granted to St. Beuno a place called Gwydelwerun in Merionethshire, on which he had erected a church. But it happened that Cynan's

[^128]nephews, in the ordinary course of a hunting expedition, came upon the land, and, according to tribal cus-

CHAP
VII. tom, claimed hospitality. St. Beuno acceded to their request and gave them a young ox for their meal ; but, by a miracle, prevented the fire from boiling the meat, and afterwards cursed them for 'demanding tribute and service (mal ar dreth) from what their fathers had given to God free (yn ryd).' ${ }^{1}$

Again, in the Life of St. Brynach, ${ }^{2}$ a saint of South Wales, who lived before the first visitation of the Yellow Death, i.e. before a.D. 547 , a somewhat similar story is told. A certain chieftain named Clechro, with the concurrence of his sons, granted his land to St. Brynach, the sons becoming disciples of the saint and he himself retiring to Cornwall. Maelyun, coming that way with his retinue, demanded entertainment (cena). The saint, to preserve his rights, declinel. Whereupon the king's servants seized upon a cow. But with all their efforts the fire would not cook the meat, and seeing the miracle the king humbly submitted, and after having partaken of the hospitality now freely offered by the saint, confirmed his privileges, and made a further grant of land according to the record in the following words. These eridently follow a common form, though by no means certainly of the sixth century :-

[^129][^130]Chap. VII.

The immunities granted to Llandaff.

Contemporary with St. Brynach was St. Teilo, the founder of the church of Llandaff, whose privileges are thus given in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' evidently following a later and elaborately worded common form framed to withdraw the Church property absolutely from secular or tribal control. Whatever its date, it none the less testifies to the completeness of the immunity claimed by the Church, and the sort of exactions to which property was otherwise liable under the tribal system. ${ }^{1}$
y'holl cyfreith didi
hac dy thir, hac di dair
rẏd o pop guasanaith breennin bẏdaul,
heb mair, heb cẏghellaur,
heb cyंhoith, dadl ma y meun gulat
hac ný dieithýr,
heb luỳd
heb gavaỳl, heb guyilma:
$\dot{y}$ cyffeith idi yn hollaul,
o leityr, o latrat, o treis,
o dynnyorn o cẏnluýn
hac o lose, o amryson canguaýt a heb guaẏt,
y diruý hay camcul ỳndi didi ẏn hollaul,
o dorri nand ynnlann,
hac ýn dieythýr lann,
orachot ynn, luhẏn, hac dieithẏr luhỷn,
o cýrch ypopmynnic ar tir Teliau
haý guir haý braut dý lýtu ýruluýs ẏgundig Teliau ynn Lanntaff.

To enjoy all its laws
and its lands, and its territories
free from all regal and secular service
without mair, without canchyllor, without attendance at public courts of litigation
either in the district or out of it,
without going on expeditions
without arrest, without keeping watch and ward :
with complete legal cognizance, of thief, of theft, of violence, of slaying, of waylaying,
of incendiarism, and contention with blood and without it, with full right to fines and penalties for crimes,
of violating the privilege of refuge,
either in or out of the precinct, of attack, secret or open,
of assaults anywhere on the land of Teilo,
and with its right and jurisdiction over its dependents at the White House of Teilo at Llandaff.

[^131]ment believe that Geoffrey, or any of his contemporaries, could have

Now, whatever may be thought of the authenticity or antiquity of these legendary origins of

Chap. VII.

Immunity from all census terrenus early claimed by the Charch.

Amongst the canons included in the collection of so-called Irish canons, to which, however, Mr. Bradshaw assigned a Breton origin, is one headed ' $D e$ censu non dando super ecclesiam,' and St. Augustine is quoted: 'si ipsi dilii liberi sunt a censu in quolibet regno terreno, quanto magis jilii regni illius, sub quo sunt omnia terrena regna.' And St. Ambrose is quoted as saying: 'Ecclesia catholica libera est ab omni censu.' ${ }^{1}$

The phraseology of these passages coincides closely with that of the legendary donations.

But it is possible that the grant to St. Teilo went exceptionally far. It not only gave immunity from all census terrenus, but transferred judicial jurisdiction from the brenhin, or king, to the bishop. The general immunity according to the Codes did not always go so far as this. Thus, in the Venedotian

Limited in the Codes. Code is the following statement:-

[^132]Chap. VII.

But admitted completely on the conquest of N. Wales.

It may well be that the tribal chieftain of the time of Howel had become jealous of ecclesiastical encroachments, and did not willingly acquiesce in the admission of the absolute immunity claimed by the Church in the sixth century. Certain it is, however, that nothing could be more complete than the royal admission of absolute immunity to the successors of St. Beuno and the collegiate church of Clynnoc immediately after the conquest. No stronger words could be used than those of the royal confirmatory charter of Edward I. above alluded to. It recited and confirmed the royal gift to St. Beuno with immunities as complete 'as though it were an island in the midst of the sea' (sicut insula in medio maris).

It is also a remarkable feature of the Denbigh extent that among the names of the numerous villatee belonging to the honour or lordship there are scarcely any with the common prefix Llan, the fact being that the lordship was honeycombed with ecclesiastical 'islands' of the kind mentioned, over which the secular lordship had no jurisdiction.

In the same way the Extents comprised in the ' Record of Carnarvon ' are full of lacunce, to be filled up only by adding the 'islands' of ecclesiastical territory.

## II. THE NATURE OF THE EARLY RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

If the records of donations to the Church were of only ecclesiastical interest, it might be left to the ecclesiastical historian to examine them in detail.

But, as they contain the earliest evidence within
reach of the actions and habits and character of Cymric chieftains, they cannot be wholly ignored in

## Chap.

VII. an attempt to understand the Cymric tribal system.

Any real evidence dating back to the first contact of the successors of Cunedda with the saints of the sixth century, if contemporary, must needs bristle with incidental details which cannot fail to be precious in the absence of more direct evidence.

Therefore, both as regards the relations between the tribal system and the Church, and as regards the tribal system itself, the attempt must be made to form a sound judgment upon the difficult question of their authenticity.

They suffer from their connection with the legends of the miraculous lives of the saints to whose churches they were made, and from the suspicion of interested motives in the scribes of the twelfth century, by whom they were collected and copied, and perhaps in some cases forged.

There is, no doubt, ground for suspicion and caution. But this is quite another thing from wholesale rejection.

Part of the difficulty disappears when the records are approached as they evidently ought to be, not as charters, but as simple notes or records of transactions. They seldom, if ever, profess to be documents made by and under the signature of the donors. They are mostly expressed in the third person, and profess to record solemn acts and to state who were the witnesses before whom they were transacted. When it is observed that the first of the witnesses may be 'Deus omnipotens,' or the saint, long at rest, at whose altar the transaction took

Chap. VII.

Sometimes written in the margin of Gospels,
and, as in the ' Book of Deer,' copied from one book to another.

And thus may be modified without fraud.
place, the character of the record becomes at once apparent.

When the record was written in the margin of a richly illuminated copy of the 'Gospels,' as was often the case, it becomes all the more obvious that we are not dealing with charters in the ordinary sense, but with acts done under solemn religious sanctions and placed under the protection of the altar at which the transaction took place.

Several such records were written, for instance, in the 'Book of Deer' in the vernacular Gaelic of Scotland, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This copy of the Gospels does not claim to have been itself written before the ninth century, but the first of the entries, probably made in the eleventh century, is the record of the original foundation of the monastery in the sixth century.

Thus it appears that if a sacred copy of the Gospel came into the possession of an abbey at a certain date there would be no inconsistency in the records originally made in a copy earlier in use being transferred to it by a copyist. So in the ' Book of Deer' the initial entry and the records of several of the earlier grants are all in one handwriting, and were written probably at the same time. ${ }^{1}$

Obviously, therefore, it is by no means certain that there is fraud wherever the language or handwriting of an entry betrays that it is not contemporary. And, further, it was obviously so much easier a thing to modify an existing entry for a purpose in transcribing it than to forge an entirely new docu-

[^133]ment that there might be fraudulent alteration Chap. without material departure from the original form of VII. the record.

There is another point of negative evidence in favour of the substantial correctness of the records of donations in the margins of Gospels, or presumably copied from them.

In the legendary lives of Welsh saints it often happens, as in the two cases above alluded to, that a miraculous story is the prelude to a record of

Remark. ably free from miracles. donation which follows a legal formula, and makes no mention of the miracle. When this is the case the inference is natural that the formal record gave rise to the legend rather than the legend to the record.

As we proceed to examine some of these records, it will be recognised that, while they are full of little archaic touches, belonging to a very early period, they are almost entirely free from the miraculous elements which are rampant in the twelfth century legendary lives of the saints to whose monasteries the donations were made.
iil. the ms. entries in the 'book of st. chad.'
The illuminated Gospel, called the 'Book of St. Chad,' was, according to Mr. Bradshaw, transferred to St. Chad's Church, at Lichfield, before 964-973, because it bears the signature of Wynsige, Bishop of Lichfield, whose episcopacy covered those years. ${ }^{1}$

The earliest entry was evidently made whilst the book itself was in possession of St. Teilo's Church, at Llandaff. The handwriting of the entry was con-

[^134]Ninthcentary entry in the Book of St. Chad.

Chap. sidered by Mr. Bradshaw to belong to the early part

Further entry. of the ninth century. It is as follows :-
'Ostenditur hic quod emit + gelhi + filius ariht iud hoc evangelium de cingal et dedit illi proillo equum optimum et dedit pro anima sua istum evangelium deo et sancto teliaui super altare. + Gelhi + filius aryht iud . . . et + cincenn + filius gripiud.' ${ }^{1}$
'Here is shown that Gelhi the son of Ariht iud bought this gospel from Cingal and gave to him for it a " best horse," and gave for his soul this gospel to God and St. Teilo upon the altar. + Gelhi, son of Aryht iud . . . et Cincenn the son of Gripiud.'

The next entry carries us a step further, in that it shows that Elcu, the son of Gelhi, was in possession of a property called the land of Telih.

- Surexit tutbule filius livit ha gener tutri dierchim Tir Telih haioid ilau elcu filius gelhig haluidt juguret amgucant pel amtanndi ho diued diprotant gener tutri o guir imguodant ir degion guragun tage rodesit elcu guetig equs tres uache, tres uache nouidligi namin ir ni be câs igridu dimedichat guetig bit did braut grefiat guetig nis minn tutbule hai cenetl in ois oisouđ.
' + teliau testis gurgint testis cynhilinn testis sp's testis tota familia teliaui. De laicis numin map aidan testis, signou map jacou testis berthutis testis cinda testis.
' Quicunque custodierit benedictus erit, quieungue frangerit maledictus erit." "
${ }^{1}$ Book of Llan Dav, preface p. xliii.
${ }^{2}$ Ibid. p. xliii, where also the accompanying somewhat tentative translation is given. Mr. Bradshaw considered the hand-
- Tutbulc, the son of Liuit, and son in law of Tudri, arose to claim the land of Telin which was in the possession of Elcu the son of Gelhi and the tribe of Juguret : he complained long about it: at last they dispossess the son-inlaw of Tudri of his right. The nobles said to one another, "Let us make peace": Elcu gave afterwards a horse, three cows, three newly calved cows, provided only there be no hostility between them from this reconciliation thenceforward to the day of doom. Tutbulc and his people will require afterwards no title for ever and ever. . . .
'Whoever shall keep his shall be blessed, whoever shall break it shall be cursed.'
writing tenth century. The two Gelhis may nevertheless be the same person, as the second record may have been written after the transaction.

This record comnects the family of Elcu, son of Gelhi, who bought the Gospel from Cyngal (?), with

Chap. VII.

## Coinci-

 dences with the - Book of Llan Dar.' the family of Tutbule, the son of Liuit, and the dispute between the two families related to the land of Telih; but there is nothing to show that the land of Telih belonged to Llandlaff.But, in the 'Book of Llan Dav'l there is a record confirming to Llandaff the ownership of the Cella Cynyualan, in Gower, which it states had belonged to St. Dubricius and St. Oudoceus, but had been lost in the first visitation of the 'Yellow Death.'

And there is also another record of about A.D. $929,{ }^{2}$ which states that grifud rex, filius yugein, to make amends, inter alia, for a riolation of the refuge of the monastery of St. Cingual, granted to Llandaff, Penn ibei in Rosulgen (i.e. Rosilli in Gower). And in the boundaries appended to the donation, the land thus granted is described as touching in one place 'usque ad ayrum cimpuali,' and in another a modius of land 'juxta telich.'s

This tenth-century record of the boundaries thus shows that the monastery or cell of St. Cingual was adjoining to Telich, and that both were in the peninsula of Gower, adjoining Rossilli. This proximity suggests that Gelhi may have bought the Gospel from the monastery of St. Cingual, and given it to St. Teilo, at Llandaff. as it was afterwards transferred from Llandaff to St. Chad, at Lichfield.

In the rery next record in the 'Book of Llan Dav,'" probably of between A.D. 961 and 967 (in the reign of King Edgar), Morgan Hen. King of Glamnrgan.

[^135]Chap. described as 'Morcant, son of yugein,' is said to
VII.

Record of an emancipation by four brothers. restore and confirm to Llandaff all the territories which had belonged to it in the time of St. Dubricius, St. Teilo, and St. Oudoceus, naming certain churches and their territories. Amongst these is ' Machumur, i.e. Lann Liuit,' and in its boundaries occur the words ' across to Is Guaissaf, of liquallaun, the son of Tutbulch.'

These boundaries connect the land of Lann Liuit with Tutbulc. This, again, is an incidental corrobo ration of the entries in the 'Book of St. Chad,' where Tutbulc is said to be the son of Liuit.

The next three records, written in the 'Book of St. Chad,' are of more direct interest. They are roughly dated by the mention of Nobis, ${ }^{1}$ Bishop of Llandaff, who was translated to St. David's, A.D. 840. The first is a manumission by four brothers of one Blethiud, the son of Sulgen, et semini suo in sempiternum, on payment of four pounds (or, possibly, four cows), and eight ounces, presumably, of silver.'

This is interesting, as a ninth-century example of a case resembling that of St. Patrick, viz. of the family ownership of slaves, or of aillts, or taeogs, and of the emancipation of a whole stock or family, like that already quoted, of a gwely of nativi by the Bishop of St. Asaph.

It is imperfect, but it is supposed to read thus :-
Nobis . necesse est scribere literas quod IIII filii bledri gu[or ti]girnu [cim]ulch et . . . arthuis dederunt libertatem bleidiud filio

[^136]sulgen et semini suo in sempiternum pro precio. atque hoc est [confirmatio] quod dedit pro libertate ejus quatnor [libr]as [or vaccas] et oc[to u]ncias. Coram idoneis [his t]estibus:

De laicis Riguo[llau]n filius [coff]ro guen . . . filius . . . r gnoluic filius . . . dan Ov . . . filius guur [cinn] im . mer[chgu]inn filius salus arthan filius cimulch judri filius judnerth.

De clericis vero Nobis episcopus teiliav saturnguid sacerdos teiliav. Dubrino et cuhelin filius episcopis, saturnbiu cam ibiav et sulgen scholasticus qui hec fideliter scripsit . . . Qui custodierit, etc.

The other two are records of ninth-century donations, of a tref with a census or food-rent.

The items of this census were:-In the first case, two score loaves and a wether in the summer and two score loaves and a sow and two score sucking pigs in winter; in the second case, three score loaves and a wether and a vessel of butterthus resembling the summer and winter dawnbwyds of the taeog trefs of the Codes, though not absolutely identical in all the details, and taking back the system of food-rents a century earlier than the Codes.

The records are difficult, both in the reading of the manuscript entries, and in translation; but, as interpreted in Mr. Evans's edition of the 'Book of Llan Dav,' sufficiently intelligible for the present purpose. ${ }^{1}$

Ostendit ista scriptio quod dederunt ris et luith grethi treb guidauc imalitiduch cimarguith[i_eit, hic est census ejus . douceint torth ha maharuin . in irham . ha douceint torth in irgaem . ha huch . ha [do,uceint mannuclenn . deo et sancto eliudo. deus testis .

This writing shows that Ris and Luith Grethi gave Trefguidauc. As story tellers say, this is its census, two score loaves and a wether in the summer, and two score loaves in the winter, and a sow and two score sucking pigs, to God and St. Elind. God witness,

Chap. VII.

Two donations of ninth century with foodrents.

Chap. saturnnguid testis. nobis testis. VII. guurci testis cutulf testis.de laicis cinguernn testis. collbiu testis. cohorget testis .ermin testis . . . hourod testis . quicunque custodierit benedictus erit et qui franxerit maledictus erit a deo.

Osdendit ista conscriptio quod dederunt ris hahir . . . ha...rdid ha gurci.r.....g......g.....cibracma. behet hirmain guidanc . ofoid celli irlath . behet cam dubr . isem hichet triuceint torth. h[a maha] ruin . ha guorthoueir emeninn. . deus omnipotens testis . saturnnguid sacerdos testis . nobis testis . gurci testis . cutulf testis. de laicis . cinguern testis.[collbiu] testis.cohorget [testis]. ermin testis. [quicunque custo $]$ dierit [bene]dictu[s erit . et] qui fra[nxer]it . m[aledic]tus . er[it . a deo].

Saturnguid witness, Nobis witness, Guurci witness, Cutulf witness. Of the laity, Cinguernn witness, Collbiu witness, Cohorget Ermin witness, Hourod witness, Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed and whoever shall break it shall be cursed of God.

This writing shows that Ris \&c. . . . gave . . . Guidauc . . . as far as . . . its tribute three score loaves and a wether and . . . butter. God Almighty witness, Saturnguid priest witness, Nobis witness, Gurci witness, Cutulf witness. Of the laity: Cinquern witness, [Collbiu] witness, Cohorget [witness], Ermin witness. Whosoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever breaks it shall be cursed by God.

There can be no reason to doubt for one moment the authenticity of these records written on the margins of the Gospel of St. Chad, and they are important not only in their subject-matter but also as a link in the chain of evidence as regards the practical authenticity of the records of earlier donations.
lv. THE EVIDENCE OF GILDAS.

Maelgwn's conquest of S . Wales.

None of the records in the 'Book of St. Chad' are of very early date; but they clear the ground for the consideration of the many donations to churches in South Wales, which so far as the transactions recorded are concerned, refer to the period immediately
succeeding the Cymric conquest of South Wales by Maelgwn.

Maelgwn is said to have died in the first visitation of the Yellorm Death, i.e. about A.D. 547. This date is approximately fixed by the mention of its ravages, both in Irish and Welsh records. ${ }^{1}$

Many of the early donations to churches in South Wales are recorded in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' St. Dubricius and St. Teilo being the reputed founders of that see. The witnesses to many of these records are the abbots, or heads, as well as members of the three monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin, who appear thus to be in close connection, both geographically and spiritually, with the Church or Bishopric of Llandaff.

Monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin.
Besides the records of donations in the 'Book of Llan Dar' are others still more remarkable appended to the legendary life of St. Cadoc, in a twelfth-century MS. in the British Museum, ${ }^{2}$ printed, though very incorrectly, in Rees's 'Lives of Cambro-British Saints.'

Whether the records were contemporary or not, all the donations to St. Cadoc belong, so far as the to St. subject-matter is concerned, to the time preceding and following the first occurrence of the Yellow Death (A.D. 547 ).

This is precisely the period as regards which there exists the contemporary evidence of Gildas. Whaterer facts, therefore, can be extracted from

Contemporary with Gildas.

[^137]Death, A.D. $5 \pm 7$.

Chap. VII.

## Yellow

[^138]Chap. his 'turgid rhetoric' ought to throw light on the
VII.

Civil wars of British chieftains. donations-the authenticity of both being granted.

That Christianity had been introduced from Gaul during the Roman period there can be no doubt. And the lamentations of Gildas, for what they are worth, are evidence of the condition of things during the century following the Roman withdrawal from Britain and the struggle with the Saxon invaders. Coincident with the Roman withdrawal was the coming of Cunedda and his sons in North Wales, and Gildas wrote during the Cymric conquest of South Wales under Maelgwn. The decay of the Roman peace in Britain, succeeded by the breaking up of the united action of British chieftains when the stress of resistance to the Saxons was over, had resulted, according to Gildas, in civil wars. These wars were, moreover, quarrels between nominally Christian rulers.

That Gildas wrote his lamentations like a Hebrew prophet in declamatory and stilted language may be granted, but in the main he doubtless ' did well to be angry,' and it is impossible to believe that, writing in this spirit, he should not have alluded to

Gildas wrote before the Yellow Death. the coming of the Yellow Death as a scourge from heaven if it were either past or present when he wrote. Further than this, his diatribe against Maelgwn himself, who died of that plague, seems to prove that Gildas wrote before its ominous date.

In an undoubtedly confused passage Gildas speaks of the battle of Mons Badonis as having occurred in the first month of the forty-fourth year [of his own age ?], and as marking the close of the struggle against
the invading Saxons. A considerable time must have elapsed since that date to account for his

Chap. VII. adding-
> - And yet not even now are the cities reinhabited, but, deserted and destroyed, they lie waste to this day, an end having come to external wars, but not indeed to civil wars.' ${ }^{1}$

Evidently the writer was now an old man, for he speaks of the generation which had experienced the me wrote. 'terrible desolation' as having departed, and of a new generation as having risen up. Again, in his preface, he speaks of having delayed his epistle ten years or more, and describes himself as now at last discharging his debt long ago due, ${ }^{2}$ constrained by the entreaties of his brethren, in a style which he admits to be severe against evil-doers, but, nevertheless, 'faithful and friendly to all young soldiers of Christ' (Christi tyronibus).

The dates are doubtful, but even if 43 in A.D. 516 (the date of the battle of Badon Hill according to the Annales Cambrice), Gildas, having previously written his work, would be 74 at the time of the Yellow Death (a.D. 547). And having survived its visitation he may possibly have lived to ninetyeight at his retreat in the bay of Morbihan, where he is said to have died, A.D. 570 , according to the Died Annales Cambrice. ${ }^{3}$

[^139]forty-fourth year from the arrival of the Saxons, but the event last mentioned by Gildas was the leadership of Ambrosius, to which his 'Ex eo tempore' may refer and from which his forty-three years may have run, thus making
$$
\text { A.D. } 570
$$

Chap. VII.

Roman names of British chieftains. Goidelic ${ }^{1}$ ) race had acquired, to say the least, a Roman varnish which still lingered in their names, is shown in the mention by Gildas of Constantine of Dumnonia and Aurelius Conanus (probably of Powys).
Many That even Cunedda himself was to some extent overthrown by Maelgwn.

The main point is that the evidence of Gildas was contemporary with the sixth-century donations, and its value consists in the light it throws upon the contact of the tribal chieftains with the Church in the most Romanised part of Britain still left to the Britons.
That the British chieftains of the older (probably Romanised may well be believed, but that Cunedda's invasion was a Cymric tribal migration seems equally clear. The conquest of Maelgwn in the south, depriving many of the older chieftains, as Gildas puts it, ' of their kingdoms and their lives,'
the date of his birth A.D. 473. Bede may have put a wrong construction on the passage as we have it. Recent writers have indeed assumed that he did so, but to fall themselves, as it would seem, into a greater difficulty, by reading the passage as meaning that Gildas was writing in the forty. fourth year of his age, having been born in the year of the battle. This can hardly be a correct reading, for in the first place if only forty-four when he wrote, he could hardly have as. sumed so completely the tone of an old man, and in the next place forty-four years from the
battle $(516+44)$ would make the date of his writing A.D. 560, which is an impossible date, as it would be after the Yellow Death, and Maelgwn would by that time have been ten years in his grave. Thus it seems possible to adhere to the dates of the Annales Cambriae after all, as consistent with the facts.
${ }^{1}$ The inscriptions of the Roman and post-Roman period, both Latin and bilingual, in Roman letters and in Oghams, are, according to Professor Rhys, mainly Goidelic, if the test word mac instead of map may be trusted.
was an extension of the same tribal invasion. Roman civilisation, we may believe, no longer softened the

CHAP.

Crimes of Cymric chieftains and their submission to the Charch. remorse, had professed Christian conversion and become children of the Church.

Gildas represents these chieftains and their relations as entering the monasteries and submitting to penances and penalties, and then breaking out again into crime.

The sister of the wife of Cuneglasse, according to Gildas, had taken the row of holy virginity. And Maelgwn himself not only had been under Christian training, but also, in a moment of remorse after crime, had taken the monastic sow before he committed the fresh crimes of murder and incest of which Gildas accused him.

The Church had evidently set itself to convert these tribal chieftains, and they or members of their families rushed into her offices and assumed her dignities. This is contemporary evidence, and at least lends some colour to the genealogies which make the chief saints of South Wales-St. Darid, St. Cymric Teilo, and St. Dubricius-closely allied in blood with the royal family of Cunedda and his descendants.

Nor is Gildas silent on the ecclesiastical side of these transactions.

When he feels himself bound to speak of the ' malitice epnscoporum vel ceterorum sacerdotum aut

Chap. clericorum in nostro quoque ordine,' and accuses Con-

Ecclesias- Nor can it be possible to disregard the nature tical abuses blamed by Gildas. stantine, King of the Dumnonii, of the murder of royal youths with sword and javelin at the very altar under shadow of the abbot's cloak, his evidence is good that there were bishops and abbots, as well as priests and monks of his own order, in the monasteries and churches of South Wales and Britain. of the ecclesiastical sins deplored, however much his language may bear the impress of exaggeration. The worldliness and sensuality of clerks neglecting, spiritual duties; the simony of both priests and bishops buying their ecclesiastical dignities from tyrannical princes, or crossing the seas and travelling far to obtain them, and returning with foolish ostentation and pomp; the apathy and want of courage in the better class of clergy in standing out against the evil of others and imposing the proper penances on them for their sins-all this as the evidence of an eyewitness is helpful in judging of the records of transactions belonging to the same period.
v. THE FORM OF CONTEMPORARY CONTINENTAL RECORDS OF DONATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

Form of sixth-century Continental records.

The direct and contemporary evidence of Gildas has brought us into the atmosphere in which the transactions recorded in the records of sixth-century donations, if authentic, took place.

The question of the authenticity of the records themselves may be approached from another point of view, riz. that of a comparison of their form as documents, and the formalities by which the donations themselves are described as accompanied,
with the forms and formalities in use during the same period on the Continent.

The Cymric tribal system was not the only one with which, on the break up of the Roman Government, the ecclesiastical system had to deal.

Romanised as the Church itself was, its influences must needs have been to a large extent Roman, and in the Roman prorinces of Gaul it evidently continued to follow and to represent Roman legal forms and principles in its action under Merovingian and even later rulers. And this was so in a modified sense even in its contact with the less Romanised tribes which fell under its influence-tribes who still ad. hered more or less to tribal custom. It is quite obvious that in the formation of the Alamannic and Bavarian Codes of the seventh century ecclesiastical influence was a strong factor. Not only had local custom to be codified, as in the case of the Welsh Codes, but a modus rivendi had to be found for the Church. The Codes, therefore, disclose the methods adopted by the ecclesiastics under Meroringian rule in securing the interests and property of the Church in districts newly conquered by the Franks.

These districts on the borders of Gaul had more or less, like Britain, been under the provincial rule of Rome. They therefore present many analogies with the most Romanised portions of South Wales. Hence there is at least some probability that the Church would use the same legal forms and methods in the one district as in the other. Why not? Especially in the case of donations to churches and monasteries, the monks were as likely to impose their own technical methods and legal formule in

Casp. South Wales as in Gaul, and in the Alamannic and Bavarian districts. Happily the Cadoc and Llandaff records of donations can be compared with the Continental methods, and the comparison is the best direct test to which their genuineness can be put.

What, then, were the methods described in the Alamannic and Bavarian codes as regards these donations?

The Leges Alamannorum Hlotharii are considered to belong to the reign of the second prince of that name, a.d. 613-622.

The first clause is as follows ${ }^{1}$ :-

The Alamannic Laws allow donations and fix their forms.

Ut si quis liber res suas vel semetipsum ad ecclesiam tradere voluerit, nullus habeat licentiam contradicere ei, non dux non comes nec ulla persona sed spontanea voluntate liceat christiano homini Deo servire et de proprias res suas semetipsum redemere. Et qui voluerit hoc facere per cartam de rebus suis ad ecclesiam, ubi dare voluerit, firmitatem faciat, et testes sex vel septem adhibeat, et nomina eorum ipsa carta contineat, et coram sacerdote qui ad ecclesiam deservit super altare ponat, et proprietas de ipsas res ad illam ecclesiam in perpetuo permaneat.

That if any freeman wishes to hand over his property or his own person to the Church, no one shall have license to thwart him, neither duke nor count nor any person, but of his own free will it shall be lawful for a Christian man to serve God and to redeem himself with his own property. And whoever wishes to do this shall confirm by charter what he wishes to give of his property to the Church, and shall produce six or seven witnesses, and the charter shall contain their names, and in the presence of the priest who serves at the church he shall place it upon the altar, and the property in those things shall remain for ever to that church.

The point of this enactment is to allow freemen, subject to Roman law, to make donations to the Church, and it prescribes the form in which it is to be done by charter, naming the witnesses, the donor in presence of the priest placing the charter on the altar.
${ }^{1}$ Pertz, Legum iii. p. 45 ; and Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges Alaman. norum, p. 63.

The Bavarian laws have the same provision, but also define what the donor may give, viz. de portione sua postquam cum filiis suis partivit-his own portion after division with his sons-according to the provisions of the Roman law. The outward formality is required that the witnesses should place their hands upon the epistola, which is then to be placed on the altar. The subject of the donation was thenceforth to remain the absolute property of the Church, and neither the donor nor his sons could disturb it unless the representative of the Church should choose to allow the donor to hold it as a benefice. ${ }^{1}$

This last clause brings before us another very common feature of early donations, which is more fully described in the following passage from the Alamannic laws, viz. the custom to allow the donor to retain the use of the property granted to the

Retention by the donor of the usufruct as a benefice paying a cenzus. Church by way of usufruct, paying the census of the land in the meantime to the Church.

Si quis liber qui res suas ad ecclesiam dederit et per cartam firmitatem fecerit sicut superius dictum est, et post hæc a pastore ecclesiæ per beneficium susceperit ad victualem necessitatem conquirendam diebus vitæ suæ: et quod spondit persolvat ad ecclesiam censum de illa terra, et hoc per epistulam firmitatis fiat, ut post ejus discessum nullus de heredibus non contradicat. ${ }^{2}$

If any freeman who shall have given his property to the Church and confirmed it by charter as before said, and afterwards shall have received it as a benefice from the pastor of the Church as a provision for his bodily needs for the days of his life, let him pay what he has promised to the Church as census from that land, and let this be done by a letter of confirmation, in order that after his decease none of his heirs shall gainsay it.

[^140][^141]Chap. VII.

Also the Bavarian Laws.

Chap. VII.

Sanc-
tioned by the Rules of St. Benedict.

Donations of this kind, reserving the usufruct to the donor as a beneficium or precaria, are of very common occurrence among those made to the Abbot of St. Gall in the eighth century. ${ }^{1}$

Roman law also permitted a donation with a simple reservation of the usufruct. ${ }^{2}$ And that in the sixth century it was a common thing for a donor to make a donation retaining the usufruct is shown by the mention of it in the Rules of St. Benedict :-
> ' If they wish to offer something to the monastery for their salvation, they shall make a donation of the things which they wish to give to the monastery : retaining the usufruct for them. selves, if they wish.' ${ }^{3}$

Hence there were donations of two kinds: (1) those in which the property given was occupied by tenants paying a census and transferred to the Church, in which case the Church obtained the property and received the census; (2) those in which the donor, who might be also the occupant, retained the usufruct and paid the census to the Church. And instances of both kinds occur among the Cadoc donations.

Moreover, the census seems to have been in these cases a fixed customary food-rent. Whether on the terra regis or on the land of the Church there were two classes of tenants paying their legitimate census or tributum to the king or to the Churchliberi and servi.

[^142]Cod. Theod. viii. 12; and Gaius, ii. 33 .
${ }^{3}$ Rule 59, 'reservato sibi, si ita voluerint usufructuario.'

Thus, in the Alamannic laws it is enacted as follows:-

Liberi autem ecclesiastici, quos colonos vocant, omnes, sicut et coloni Regis, ita reddant ad ecclesiam. ${ }^{1}$

## XXII

Servi enim ecclesiæ tribata sua legitime reddant, quindecim siclas de cervisa, porcum valentem tremisse uno, panem modia duo, pullos quinque, ova viginti.

Freemen of the Church, who are called coloni, all shall render to the Church just as coloni of the king do.

## XXII

Let the servi of the Church render their tribute according to law, fifteen siclæ of beer, a pig worth a tremissis, two modii of bread, five hens and twenty eggs.

So that the law laid down actually what the legitimate or normal tribute or census of the unfree class of tenants, called semi, consisted of-viz. fifteen siclæ of beer, a pig worth a tremissis, ${ }^{2}$ two

The
normal census of serrus 15 siclæ of beer, ぶc. modii of bread, five hens, and twenty eggs.

That this census of the typical servile holding was adhered to in the Alamannic district in the eighth century is proved by the very frequent occurrence of it and its double in the donations to St. Gall. ${ }^{3}$ And it seems to have extended down the Rhine valley as a common usage. ${ }^{4}$

It was natural that the ecclesiastics should introduce their own Continental methods into the Romanised districts of South Wales. The Church was already more or less established in these districts, even in Roman times, and when it first came into contact with the conquering Cymric chieftains tribal and ecclesiastical methods must have come to some compromise.

[^143]Chap. VII.

Chap. VII. Compromise in Wales between tribal rules and the legal methods of the ecclesiastics.

The donations in Wales were made, for the most part, by tribal chieftains, whose possessions were subject to the tribal custom of tir gweliawc. On the donor's side, therefore, tribal custom and habits, and not Roman law, must needs rule the form of the donation. Even a chieftain could not alienate family property without the consent of other members of his family. But, on the side of the Church, the recipients of the donation-the ecclesiastics-would bring their own forms and formulæ with them. They would insist that there must be the written charter with its witnesses. They would introduce the formal act of delivery by placing the writing on the altar or on the Gospels. If the transaction did not take place in a church, some other formality would be required. The placing of the writing upon the hand of the recipient, as we shall see, was the actual form most often adopted.

The transfer of a property, the food-rent or census of which had hitherto been paid to the donor or the chieftain, must here as elsewhere have meant the transfer to the donee of the right to receive the settled food-rent of that holding. The donation of a holding by the occupant, who desired still to retain the occupation, would here as elsewhere mean his payment of his food-rent to the Church instead of to his chieftain, and therefore would require his chieftain's consent. Such transactions would be certain to be mixed up with little archaic points of detail fitted to the time and locality; and, lastly, authentic records of donations would be hardly likely to make mention of miracles !

If on examination these various conditions are
found to be complied with, the reader will be able to judge how far it is probable that the records

Chap VII. to which attention will now be turned, whether contemporary with the donations or not, were forgeries of a later hand, however cunningly desirous to aggrandise the episcopal see to which he might belong. And, at the same time, if substantially authentic, the reader will not fail to appreciate the value of the light they throw on the earlier conditions of tribal life.
vi. the early records of donations in the
'book of llas dav.'
Returning, then, to the 'Book of Llan Dav,' St. Dubricius and his companions may well have been among the 'youthful soldiers of Christ' to whom Gildas alluded.

The legend describes Dubricius as embracing among his disciples the following, viz.:-Teilo, Samson, Ubeluius, Merchguinus, Elguoredus, Gunuinus, Congual, Arthbodu, Congur, Arguistil, Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elheharn, Judnou, founded. Guordocui, Guernabui, Louan, Aidan, Cinuarch. ${ }^{1}$

These, with many others, are represented as living together in a kind of college, and afterwards as located in smaller groups in charge of churches as they were founded. The smaller groups formed thus little collegiate and missionary centres, whilst remaining in close communion and intercourse. ${ }^{2}$

Now, the 'Book of Llan Dav' records nine donations presumptively made to St. Dubricius during his

[^144]Chap. lifetime, the witnesses to which generally include
VII.

Donation of son-inlaw of Constantine. some of the above-mentioned disciples. The first of these donations is as follows:-

## Lann Custenhinn garth benni in Ercicg.

Sciendum est nobis quod Peipiau, rex filius erb . largitus est mainaur garth benni usque ad paludem nigrum inter siluam et campum et aquam et jaculum Constantini regis socri sui trans Guý amnem deo et Dubricio archiepiscopo sedis landauie . et junapeio consobrino suo pro anima sua et proscriptione nominis sui in libro uite cum omni sua libertate sine ullo sensu terreno et principatu paruo et modico nisi deo et sancto Dubricio seruientibus ecclesie Landauie in perpetuo tenuitque peipian grafium super manum Dubricii sancti ut domus orationis et penitentie atque episcopalis locus in eternum fieret episcopis landauie et in testimonio . relictis ibi tribus discipulis suis ecclesiam illam consecrauit . De clericis testes sunt in primo Dubricius, Arguistil, Vbeluiu, Jouann, Junapius, Conuran, goruan. De laicis uero Peipiau rex testis, Custenhin, Guourir, dihirue, Condiuill, guidgol, clem. Quicunque custodierit hanc elemosinam deo datam. custodiat illum deus . qui autem non seruauerit, destruat illum deus. ${ }^{1}$

The Church of Garth benni of Constantine in Erging.
Be it known to us that Peipiau, king, son of Erb, bestowed Mainaur Garth benni, up to the black marsh with wood, field, and water, and the casting-net of King Constantine, his father-in-law, across the River Wye, to God and Dubricius, Archbishop of Llandaff, and to Junapeius his own cousin, for his soul, and for the writing of his name in the Book of Life, with all its liberty without any earthly census and sovereignty smaller or greater except God and St. Dubricius, and the servants of the Church at Llandaff for ever. And Peipiau held the writing upon the hand of St. Dubricius in order that it might be for ever a house of prayer and penitence, and bishop's place for the Bishops of Llandaff. And in testimony leav. ing three of his disciples there, he consecrated that church. Of the clergy are witnesses, first Dubricius, Arguistil, Ubeluiu, Jonaun, Junapius, Conuran, Goruan. And of the laity Peipiau, king, is witness, Custenhin, Guourir, Dihiruc, Condiuill, Guidgol, Clem. Whosoever shall guard this alms given to God, God guard him. Whoso however shall not keep it, may God destroy him.

Now this is the record of a donation by Peipiau, son of Erb, king of Gwent and Erging, and son-inlaw (socer) of Constantine, of a mainaur called the

[^145]Garthbenni of Custenhin-i.e. of Constantine. The donation is made to St. Dubricius and his cousin

Chap.
VII.

Possibly the Constantine reproved by Gildas. by Gildas for having slain at the altar two royal youths in the very year in which he was writing. At all events, this would be consistent with the entry in the Annales Cambrice, A.D. 589, 'Conversio Constantini ad Dominum,' and the tradition that he became a saint.

Recurring to the phraseology of the record, the peculiarity in the form of delivery is worth notice, as the only case in which, in the ' Book of Llan Dav,' the writing is held by the donor upon the hand (super manum) of the ecclesiastical recipient.

Had the ceremony of delivery been completed in the church after the consecration, it would probably have been performed at the altar; but it could not be so in this case, as it preceded the consecration.

In another case Erb, the father of the last-mentioned donor, makes a donation of unam tellurem de

## Hand

 placed on Gospels. propria sua hereditate, and in confirmation misit manum super quattuor evangelia tenente beato Dubricio cum predicta tellure. ${ }^{1}$In another case two donors, before all the witnesses, posuerunt hanc dotem super quattuor evangelia in perpetuo, \&c. ${ }^{2}$

[^146]Chat. VII.

Three churches of st . Teilo.

Another record testifies that, in primo tempore, Noe, ${ }^{1}$ the son of Arthur, gave to God and St. Dubricius Pennalum, Lann Maur on the Tyvi, and another site on the river Tam-mittens ${ }^{2}$ noe manum super quatuor evangelia et commendans in manu archiepiscopi Dubricii hanc elemosinam in perpetuo, \&c.- the witnesses again being his companions Arguistil, Ubelbiu, Jouann, Junabui, Conbran, Guoruan, Elhearn, Judnou, Gurdocui, Guernabui.

The last-mentioned donation was of the three places in which churches dedicated to St. Teilo exist, each of which, according to the legend, laid claim to his body, the first on the ground that at Pennally his ancestors were buried, the second because it was a place where he had dwelt with his disciples, the third, on the coast at the mouth of the Tam, because it was the place where he died. The donation contains no mention of the miracle vouched for by the legend whereby a body was provided for each of the three.

If this record be genuine, it refers to the original donation to St. Teilo in his lifetime of the three places where he made settlements and built churches, and which were therefore most closely identified with his name; and it does not profess to be a record contemporary with the grant. It distinctly states that the donation was made ' in primo tempore,' the disciples of St. Dubricius being witnesses to the transaction, and not to the present record.

There is yet another of these records in the ' Book of Llan Dav' requiring particular notice.

[^147] miserunt'; and see Brunner's

One of the disciples of St. Dubricius was Merchguinus. He is called in the record Merchguinus Rex, filius gliuis-i.e. he was one of the sub reguli of the family to which St. Cadoc belonged-and it states that under his rule a person named Guordoc (also one of the disciples of St. Dubricius) devoted (immolarit) his virgin daughter Dulon to the Church of Llandaff along with four modii of land, in Gower, et communione tota regionis Guhiri in campo in aqua et in pascuis.' ${ }^{1}$

Now it must be clearly understood that there is nothing to show that these records were contemporary records. They do not claim to be such. In one case a distinct disclaimer has been alluded to, the record speaking of the donation as having been made in primo tempore, which suggests a considerable interval.

The donations themselves are recorded to have been made in all cases in the lifetime and presence of St. Dubricius and some of his disciples. In no case yet are the witnesses, as so often afterwards in the records in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' the abbots and members of the three little monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin. The inference is that they were made before these monasteries had been founded, i.e. in the first half of the sixth century.

There are, moreover, some geographical points connected with these early ecclesiastical settlements which should not be overlooked.

In the first place they are not in a Cymric district, but in a Goidelic district (Guir et Cetgueli,

[^148] torial.
i.e. Gower and Kidwelli), the chieftains of which had not long surrendered to the conquests of Maelgwn. ${ }^{1}$

The three settlements of St. Teilo were in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, and in what became the diocese of St. David.

Allusion has already been made to the dispute between Llandaff and St. Illtud, and ultimate confirmation to Llandaff of the cells of Cyngualan, Arthruodu, and Congur, and Pencreic, which had been lost to St. Dubricius in the Yellow Death. All these cells were in close neighbourhood in Gower, or adjacent parts of Glamorganshire.

Lastly, the three monasteries of St. Cadoc, St. Illtud, and St. Dogwin were in close proximity to Llandaff.
When, therefore, the episcopacy became or was becoming territorial in South Wales, difficulties arose naturally out of the geographical position of St. Teilo's settlements, which, though in the territory of St. David's, naturally belonged to Llandaff, of which St. Teilo was the saint.

But at the time of these donations there was no ground for such difficulties. What bishops there were were not territorial. The Church in South Wales was monastic rather than episcopal. Or more correctly the missionary work of the Church was carried on by the foundation of little monastic churches or colleges of monks, some of whose members were bishops, but whose heads were the abbots.

And both the historical importance of these monastic churches and the time of their prevalence are

[^149]marked by the fact that the system which had originally spread from Gaul, through Brittany, into Wales, was carried over by the Irishman Finian, who was a disciple of St. David, St. Gildas, and St. Cadoc, into Treland, becoming there the second of 'the three orders of Saints ;' riz, that immediately following the order of St. Patrick. ${ }^{1}$
VII. THE DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC.

We may now proceed to examine the records ${ }^{2}$ of donations to St. Cadoc. They divide themselves into three groups when placed as far as possible in chronological order.

In the first group are included donations made in the lifetime of St. Cadoc; and of these, two relate to the founding of monastic churches-one by a favourite disciple and the other by St. Cadoc himself.
${ }^{3}$ Notū sit omib3 $\underset{\text { p mutabili- }}{ }$ tate têpoz ' successibz hui ${ }^{9}$ mundi regū. ̄̃d Elli allūpn ${ }^{9}$ beati Cadoci . ab ipso diligent a $p^{\text {immeua etate educat }}$. ac sacis apicibz ap ${ }^{\text {imme }}$ institut ${ }^{9}$ illiq $_{3}$ cunctoz disciploz suoz carissim ${ }^{9}$. Et asseruit Elli dicens . Ecce ego construxi eccłam $\mathfrak{z}$ domos in nõe Đni. ' $\mathfrak{i}$ ipse cunctiq successores mei . familie Cadoci erim ${ }^{9}$ obedientes subiecti. atq, beniuoli. familie Cadoci. Dedit etiā Elli psce ${ }^{1}$ pte

Be it known to all, on account of the mutability of times and of the successions of the kings of this world, that Elli, the pupil of the blessed Cadoc, having been by him educated lovingly from tenderest age and well established in sacred learning and being the dearest to him of all his disciples, made declaration saying: 'Lo, I have built a church and houses in the name of the Lord, and I

[^150]The
records of donations to St. Cadoc during his lifetime.

СНАР. VII.

Monastic churches of the type introduced by St. Finian into Ireland.

Chap. familie ppetua pensione sinğlis VII.

Foundation of a monastic church. Foodrents of - three nights' summer and winter.

Church built by Cadoc for a disciple. annis cibaria $p$ tres noctes in estate ac totidē in hieme cū grarū actione ' leticia . or̃onibz $\mathfrak{Z}$ hymnis sp̃ualibz uerū etiā in substituendo administatore ei ${ }^{2}$ dē eccłe : abbas cenobii Catocj pses semp erit $\mathfrak{t}$ auctor. Ceter̃ si contigit $\mathfrak{q} d$ Catoc $^{9}$ atq, successores illi ${ }^{2}$ cū illoz̧ clientela minime venint: dentrillis duo boues ad recognitione subiectionis ' Z societatis. Vñ cōuenientes ad monastiū elli pactionē hāc cū pacis osc̃lo c̃firmauer̃t in conspectu elli iuxta crucē $\tilde{q} \cdot \tilde{\mathrm{e}} \cdot$ in uia multis nota.

Hui ${ }^{9}$ rei st testes. Catoc . Elli. Cleophas. Samson. Jacob. Boduan . Conocan . Mach . Terunt $u n^{9} q^{i}{ }^{s} q_{3}$ ad loc̃ suũ de bñdictiōe in bñdictione A $\tilde{m}$.

Sciendū • ẽ . noђ q̃d Cadoc construx eccłam Mach moilo discip̂lo ei ${ }^{9}$ eāq munimine uallauit ac in eadè altare composuit. $q^{a}$ tin $^{9}$ illo hospitaret ${ }^{r} q^{\text {a }}$ ndo iret ad Guent ac in rediret. dimisitq, Mac moilū in ea $p^{i}$ orē atq, ad ministationis
myself and all my successors shall be obedient, subject, and well disposed to the family of Cadoc.' Moreover, Elli gave to the aforesaid family in perpetual yearly payment provisions for three nights in summer and as many in winter, with giving of thanks and joy, prayers and spiritual hymns. Moreover, in changing the administrator of the same church the abbot of the community of Cadoc shall have the chief power and authority for ever. But if it shall happen that Cadoc and his successors with their followers shall diminish, then shall be given unto them two oxen as recognition of subjection and alliance. Whereupon coming together to the monastery of Elli they confirmed this agreement with the kiss of peace in the sight of Elli hard by the cross which is on the road known to many.

Of this thing are witnesses Catoc, Elli, Cleophas, Samson, Jacob, Boduan, Conocan, Mach. They departed each to his own place blessing and blest. Amen.

Be it known to us that Cadoc built a church for Mach Moilus, his disciple, and walled it securely, and constructed an altar therein, to the end that therein he should be entertained when he should go to Gwent and return thence, and
toti ${ }^{\ominus}$ peuratorē. Pollicit ${ }^{\text { }}$. ẽ. $\AA$ Cadoc ${ }^{\text {n }}$ regni p mia celo̧̧ cunctis $q^{i}$ ei ${ }^{\text {® }}$ dē eccłe possessiones $\mathrm{ag}^{\text {is }}$ seu pecuniis aut elemosinis auxerint : Testes s̄t. sup hoc. Cadoc 't ctici eis. Pachan . Detiu . Boduan . Quic̃q custodierit bnđ̈.e. a
 erit a đno Añ. ${ }^{1}$
he ordained Mac Moilus as prior therein, and to be procurator of the whole of its administration. Moreover, Cadoc promised the rewards of the kingdom of heaven to all who should increase the possessions of the said church by land or moneys or alns.

The witnesses thereof are Cadoc and his clergy, Pachan, Detiu, Boduan.

Whosoever shall keep [this] shall be blessed by God; whosoever shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

Donations rery similar to these, of churches built or founded by the donors, occur in Continental cartularies. ${ }^{2}$ In the donation by Elli, the companion of Cadoc, of his church-'Llanelli'-there is an interesting rariation in the description of the annual ' pensio,' or 'census.' It is described, not as a foodrent of so many measures of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, as in most cases, but as three nights cibaria, i.e. guestra, payable in summer and winter respectively, the equivalent details of which are taken as well known, and not needing definition. This is an early illustration of the adaptation of the food-rent or grestra to the nightly supply of the wants of the fumilia of the monastery to whom the donation was made. Instances will follow of the transfer of food-rents from a chieftain to a monastery without alteration. It will be noticed that, as in this case of the nights' entertainments, so also in other cases, the numbers are reckoned in threes.

[^151]CHAP.
VII.

The three nights' grestra.
(HAP. VII.

A chieftain murders two nephews, and, in redemption of the crime, he and another make donations of land with its food-rents of beer, bread, flesh, and honey.

The next record is of a different character :-

Post intuallū temporis occidit Euan Buurer duos uiros filios sororis ei ${ }^{\ominus}$. Atgan scit ' Aidnerth. Quā ob rē uenit Cadoc $\mathfrak{Z}$ Eltuth. 't maledixert Euan. Vñ coact ${ }^{9}$ uenit Euan ' Reges cū eo ad pisentiā Codoci atq, Eltuti : confessusq, ẽ eis sceła sua. At illi dixer̃t ei. Redime culpā homicidij. Respondit Catlon dicens. Dabo agrū nõe Lan Hoitlon Cadoco. Pensio ei ${ }^{\text {E }}$. ij . vasa sex modioz ceruise cum pane $\mathfrak{t}$ carne $\mathfrak{Z}$ melle . s̃cđ̉m solitã debitā debiti mensurā. Merchiaun $u^{0}$ dedit villā uidelicet Conhil Eltuto . $\mathrm{atq}_{3}$. iii. uasa q̃ sex modios ĉuise continebāt unū quodq uas cū agis consecantes: p fatis sc̃is in ppetuā elemosinã c̃tuler̃t. At illi satisfactionē Euan suscipientes . xiiii . annos penitencie iniunxerūt ei.

Cui ${ }^{9}$ facti testes fuer̃t. Catlon. Merchiaun. Euan. Cethij . Sc̃s
Catman . Hoitlon . Virgo Cadoc. Finian scott ${ }^{9}$. Eutegrẏn lector . Familia ${ }_{\ddagger}^{\circ}$ Cadoci . atq, Cadoci . atq, Eltuti : testes sut. Quic̃ $\underset{G}{ }$ custodierit : benedict ${ }^{9}$ erit a Đo. 't $q^{\text {icung }}$ frangit maledict ${ }^{2}$ erit. ${ }^{1}$

After an interval of time Evan Buurr killed two men, sons of his sister, to wit Atgan and Aidnerth. Whereupon came Cadoc and Illtud and cursed Evan. Whereby constrained came Evan and the kings with him to the presence of Cadoc and Illtud, and confessed to them his crimes. And they said to him, 'Redeem the crime of homicide.' Catlon replied saying, ' I will give land called Lan Hoitlan to Cadoc ; the pensio thereof is two vessels each of six modii of beer, with bread and flesh and honey, according to the due and accustomed measure.' Moreover, Merchiaun gave a villa, i.e. Conhil, to Illtud, and three vessels which contain six modii of beer, consecrating each vessel with the land. They conferred them on the aforesaid saints in everlasting alms. Moreover, they receiving satisfaction from Evan enjoined upon him fourteen years of penitence. Of which fact the witnesses were Catlon, Merchiaun, Evan, Cethii, St. Catman, Hoitlon, Virgo Cadoc, Finian Scottus, Eutegyrn the reader. Also the family of Cadoc, and of Cadoc and Illtud, are witnesses. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed of God, and whoever shall break it shall be cursed.

This record is interesting in several ways A chieftain has murdered two sons of his sister. St. Cadoc and St. Illtud are courageous enough to charge him with the crime. He brings two other chieftains with him (probably members of his family), and makes confession. whereupon the two abbots require him, according to Church law, to redeem the crime of homicide. There is no galanas within the kindred, but the Church must have her due. The two chieftains comply with the demand, and respectively make to the monasteries of the two abbots donations of properties, and these, according to custom, are described by the amount of the annual payments or food-rents due from them, viz. in one case two vessels, each of six modii of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, according to customary amount and measure ; in the other case, three such vessels, each of six modii of beer, and bread, flesh, and honey, in addition.

But this is not all. Haring received these donations, the two abbots impose upon the murderer fourteen years' penance, i.e. seven years' penance for each of the two murders, according to the rules laid down in contemporary Penitentials. ${ }^{1}$

What could Gildas ask more from the abbots than this? The witnesses comprise amongst others the two chieftains who make the donations. One of them, Merchiaun, as we shall find from another record, was afterwards murdered by his relative, Guoidnerth. Gildas did not, it seems, overrate the crimes of chief-

[^152]CHAP. VII.

The fourteen years' penance.

Chap. VII.

The Irish monk Finian as witness.
tains. Another witness was Finian Scottus. This can hardly be other than the Irish monk Finian, ${ }^{1}$ already alluded to, who, according to Irish authorities, came over when thirty years old into Wales, to be the disciple, as already mentioned, of the Welsh saints David, Cadoc, and Gildas, and, after remaining thirty years in Britain, returned to Ireland to found the 'second order' of monasteries. He died, like so many others, of the Yellow Death, according to the annals of Ulster, in A.D. 548. ${ }^{2}$ The appearance of Finian as a witness to this record puts back the date of the transaction, if authentic, some years, at least, before the Yellow Death.
viil. the donations to the monastery of st. cadoc

Donations whilst Conige was abbot of Llancarvon. Donation of land with reservation of occupation and payment of foodrent of beer, \&c.
(continued).

The next three donations are linked together by the fact that they were made in the time of Conigc, the abbot of St. Cadoc's monastery, and that some of the witnesses were common to them all.

Sciendū . ẽ. q̃d Theudor fili ${ }^{\circ}$ Mourici dedit gladiū vestiñ̃tūq Catoco ${ }^{\text {t }}$ familie ei ${ }^{\ominus}$ $q^{\text {atin }}{ }^{2}$ iñ emerēt $\mathrm{Prā}$ in sustentationé ei̊ ${ }^{\text {® }} \mathrm{d}$. Conigc $\mathrm{u}^{\circ}$ abbas altaris sc̃i Cadoci tribuit gladiū illū uestiñtūq̧ Spois $\mathfrak{q}$ Rodrico p uilla cui now Conguoret in Pencenli . $\mathrm{q}^{\text {i }}$ concesser̃t hanc Cadoco ${ }^{\text {t }}$ eiusdē eccłe possidendā iure ppetuo . $\tilde{q}$ annua pensione psolưlet P misso Conig

Be it known that Theudor son of Mouricus gave a sword and garment to Cadoc and his familia to the end that therewith they should buyland for the sustentation of the same. Moreover, Conige abbot of the altar of St. Cadoc, assigned that sword and garment to Spois and Rodricus for the villa named Conguoret in Pencenli, who granted it to

[^153]ac plibate familie . p manū Spois 't filiǒ ei ${ }^{\text { }}$ in etnū. nouē modios ceruise panē ̊̊ carné ac mel . Et ut ista possessio lita ' q q ${ }^{\text {leta }}$ foret ab omib; seruitiis $\mathfrak{z}$ exactionib; trenoz regū : isdē Spois fili ${ }^{9}$ Gurhitr smptit ${ }^{\text { }}$. e . iii. uaccas Guornemet . uñ Pfat ${ }^{\text {Q }}$ Rodri tenuit cartà siue g ${ }^{\text {aph }}$ hiù sup manū Conige abbatis Nantcarbanan in confirmatiōem hui ${ }^{9}$ donationis. Postea $u^{\circ}$ conuener̃t Rodri $\ddagger$ Spois ac filii ei ${ }^{9}$. Conige etiã $\ddagger$ clerici ei ${ }^{9}$ attuler̃t crucē sc̃i Cadoci ' humū ei ${ }^{\ominus}$ ' circueundo p̂dictū agrū congueret. illudq uendicauer̃t $z$ pscipti sc̃i humū in signū pp $^{3} e$ possessionis sup illū corā idoneis testibz conspser̃t.

De laicis, testes. Rodri . Guornemet. Guoguoret. Hoilbiu . Houhoer . Colbiu. De clericis. Samson . abbas altaris sc̃i Eltuti . Conige abt altaris ic̃i Cadoci . Plossan . 不tern . Iouan. Minuocioi . Brenic . Z familia sc̃i Cadoci, testis ẽ Qui conseruaủ it conseruet illū Đs. Z qi ${ }^{\text {i }}$ fregerit maledict ${ }^{\text {e erit }}$ a Đno añ. ${ }^{2}$

Cadoc and his church in possession by perpetual right so that in annual pensio it should pay to the said Conige and his familia aforesaid by the hand of Spois and his sons for ever nine modii of beer, also bread, flesh, and honey, and that this possession should be free and quit of all services and exactions of earthly kings the said Spois son of Gurhitr bestowed three cows on Guornemet. Whereupon the said Rodricus held the charter or writing upon the hand of Conigc the abbot of Nantcarvan in confirmation of this donation. Afterwards, moreover, came together Rodricus and Spois and his sons, also Conige and his clergy brought the cross of St . Cadoc and his earth, and by going round the said land Congueret both sold it and scattered on it the earth of the saint aforesaid as a sign of proper possession before fit witnesses. Of laity, witnesses : Rodricus, Guornemet, Guoguoret, Hoilbiu, Houhoer, Colbiu. Of clergy : Samson abbot of the altar of Illtud, Conige abbot of the Altar of St. Cadoc, Plossan, Etern, Iouan, Minuocioi, Brenic, and the family of St. Cadoc is witness Who shall have kept this God keep him. Who shall have broken it shall be accursed by God. Amen.

Chap. VII.

Chap. VII.

Sword and vestment used as money. a father and three sons, reserving occupation under food-rent.

This record presents many points of interest.
Theudor, the son of Mouric, gives a sword and a vestment to the monastery of St. Cadoc to be used as money to purchase land for its maintenance.

Conigc, the abbot, buys with them a villa named Conguoret, in Pencenli, from Spois and Rodric. They, however, retain possession. The food-rent of nine modii of beer, with bread, flesh, and honey, is to be paid by them and their sons for ever. And, that it might be freed from all secular services, Spois, the son of Gurhur, gives three cows to Guornemet. Rodri holds the charter or writing upon the hand of Conigc, the abbot, in confirmation of the gift, and then, lastly, Rodri and Spois with his sons, and the abbot with his clergy, carry the cross of St . Cadoc and earth from his altar or sepulchre round the newly purchased land in the presence of witnesses. ${ }^{1}$ Cadoc is now evidently dead.

The next record is as follows :-

Sciendū ẽ qud Bronnoguid fili ${ }^{9}$ Febric dedit dimidiā partē agri Idraclis $p$ aia sua $\mathfrak{t}$ ut nom $\mathrm{ei}^{\ominus}$ in libro Catoci ã Nantcarban scibet $^{\text {r }}$. Đo $\mathcal{Z}$ monastio sc̃i Cadoci. Et iॅ̃e $q^{i}$ dē Bronnoguid $Z$ tres filii $\dot{e l}^{9}$ Guedan. 't Guobrir . 't Meuc . tenuer̃t sciptū gaphii sup manu Conige pincipis altaris Cadoci in sempitno donationis iure Đo $\mathfrak{Z}$ sc̃o Cadoco. Ann ${ }^{9}$ ' $t$ eni illi ${ }^{2}$ agi census ppetuus è: tres modii ceruise. 't panes I carnes $\mathfrak{Z}$ mina mellis. Hec eni Bronnotguid $t$ tres filii ei ${ }^{2}$

Be it known that Bronnoguid, son of Febric, gave a half share of the land Idraclis for his soul, and that his name might be written in the book of Cadoc at Nantcarvan, to God and the monastery of St. Cadoc. And he, to wit Bronnoguid, and his three sons, Guedan and Guobrir and Meuc, held the writing of the document upon the hand of Conige, chief of the altar of Cadoc, in everlasting right of donation to God and St. Cadoc. Moreover, the annual

[^154]Z gnatio illog annuati debent psoluere familie Cadoci usq, ad diē iudicii. Hui ${ }^{9}$ pactiōis testes s̃t. Bronnotguid dñs fundi ' filii ipsi ${ }^{\circ}$. Guoidan. Marcant . Iunemet . Conige abも. Elionoỳ. Brenic. Mannocoi . Beduan. Plosan. Qui hāc donationē seruaủit :' custodiat illũ $\mathrm{Ds}_{\mathrm{s}}$. Et $\mathrm{q}^{i}$ fregit : maledict${ }^{\ominus}$ erit a Đo. A $\tilde{m}^{1}{ }^{1}$
permanent census of that land is three modii of beer, and bread, and flesh, and a mina of honey. For Bronnotguid and his three sons and their offspring ought to pay these annually to the family of Cadoc until the day of judgment. Of this agreement are witnesses, Bronnotguid, dominus fundi, and his sons Guoidan, Marcant, Iunemet, Conige abbot, Elionoy, Brenic, Mannocoi, Beduan, Plosan. Who shall keep this donation God guard him, and who shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

In this case the donor and his three sons hold the writing, as in other instances, upon the hand of the abbot. They, however, retain the occupation of the land, and the father, who is the dominus fundi, and the three sons and their kindred, are henceforth to pay to the abbey the census of three modii of beer and bread and flesh, and a mina of honey yearly, till the day of judgment.

The next record is of the same kind. Possession is retained and the census payable to the abbot is exactly double that of the last case.

Sciendū . ẽ. ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ dedit Conbelin agrū Lisdin borrion uocat ${ }^{9}$ \$ cōmercio regni celestis cū corpore suo Đo Z sc̃o Cadoco q̃d ei annuati psolủet sex modios čuise. cu pane $\mathfrak{z}$ carne z melle. Testis. $\widetilde{\text { e }}$. Conige $q^{i}$ sup manū suā scipsit [?sumpsit] concuū. i. Cyrog ${ }^{\text {a phum. }}{ }^{2}$

Be it known that Conbelin gave land called Lisdin borrion for purchase of the kingdom of heaven with his own body to God and St . Cadoc so that he should pay to him (Cadoc) annually six modii of beer with bread and flesh and honey. The witness is Conige, who, upon his own hand, [took (\%)] . . . chirograph.

[^155]Chap. VII.

Donation of the same kind.

Сhap.
VII. IX. DONATIONS TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. CADOC
(continued).
The next record is that of a donation to God and St. Cadoc by a father, who commended a villa to his son so that the latter should serve the abbey and pay out of the surplus produce the food-rent of nine modii of beer with bread and flesh and honey to St. Cadoc.

Donation by a father, reserving occupation to his son, with food-rent to St. Cadoc.

Sciendū . ẽ . sane ${ }_{\text {q̃d Gual- }}$ luuir donauit Đo $\ddagger$ Sc̃o Cadoco agrū Pencarnov. $\ddagger$ aĩa sua in sempit̄nū :' usq ad diē iudicii . Guallunir aũ hane uillā comñdauit Iudnou filio suo. $q^{\text {atin }}{ }^{9}$ ipse ' heredes ipsi ${ }^{\text { }}$ seruirēt familie Cadoci ex sūptibz hui ${ }^{\ominus}$ agi ${ }^{i}{ }^{\circ}$ ẽ. nouē modii ceruise . panes't carnes c̃ melle . Quinimmo: $\mathrm{q}^{\circ}{ }^{\circ} \mathcal{q}_{\mathcal{G}}$ clerici Cadoci uoluerint manducare $\ddagger$ bite :' uidelicet in Basseleg. seu in Pencarnov: pfat ${ }^{9}$ Iudnou cibaria ${ }^{7}$ potiōem q plibauim ${ }^{2}$ afferet ad illos.

Hui ${ }^{9}$ pactionis testes s̃t Paulus abbas Nantcarban. Guenlioui fr̃ ei ${ }^{\ominus}$. Thinuc. Canapoi . Tanet. Hierbrith. Merhitr. Concũ . Quic̃q̆ custodierit. custodiз illū Đs . ' Z $q^{i}$ fregit maleđ̃. . e. a Đno . añ. ${ }^{1}$

Be it well known that Gualluuir gave to God and St. Cadoc the land Pencarnov for his soul for ever till the day of judgment, Guallunir, moreover, 'commendavit' this villa to Iudnou, his son, to the end that he himself and his heirs should serve the family of Cadoc out of the produce of this land beyond their own needs. ${ }^{1}$ The census of this land is nine modii of beer, bread and flesh and honey. But nevertheless, that whenever the clergy of Cadoc wish to eat or drink, namely, in Basseleg or in Pencarnov, the said Iudnou shall supply them with food and drink as aforesaid. Of this agreement are witnesses : Paulus, Abbot of Nantcarban, Gwenlioui his brother, Thinuc, Canapoi, Tanet, Hierbrith, Merhitr, Concum. Whoever shall keep this, God keep him ; and who shall break it shall be cursed by God. Amen.

The following is a simple one :-
Sciendū ẽ. q̃d Temit dedit agrū. id est de Ago Crucin. altari sc̄i Cadoci in ppetuā possessionē cū filiis suis. in tempore Pauli abzis de Nantcaruan. q̃d annuati .vj. modios ceruise $\tilde{c}$ panib; $\mathfrak{z}$ carnibz familie sc̃i Cadoci . iugit psolûet.

Testes sit. De cticis. Guouan
Matganoj . Son . Brenic Elionoe . Pill lector . De laicis $\mathrm{n}^{0}$ : Cungrat . Guedhoc. Eliunui. Rimogeat . Branoc. Cunhape . Quiẽq seruauiit hāc obłonē :' conseruet illū Đs. $\mathfrak{Z} q^{1}$ abstutit : confringet illū Đs. ${ }^{2}$

Be it known that Temit gave land, i.e. of Ager Crucin, to the altar of St . Cadoc in perpetual possession, with his (Temit's) sons, in the time of Paul, Abbot of Nantcarvan, so that he should pay annually six modii of beer, with bread and flesh, to the family of St. Cadoc for ever. ${ }^{1}$

Witnesses are, of the clergy : Guouan, Matganoi, Son, Brenic, Elionoe, Pill the reader. Of the laity, Cungrat, Guedhoc, Eliunui, Rimogeat, Branoc, Cunhape. Whoever shall keep this, God keep him ; and who withdraws it, God will break him in pieces.

Here again the donor and his sons retain possession on payment of the census of six modii of beer with bread and flesh.

The rest of these remarkable records are proved by numerous coincidences in the witnesses to be contemporary with those in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' which belong to the time of the Bishop Oudoceus. This bishop succeeded St. Teilo, it is supposed, about A.D. 574 , and, according to the 'Book of Llan Dav,' he received donations from three chieftains in succes-

[^156]hæc omnia penes Sancti Martimi ditionem quæ habere videor et hoc tantum exinde utar, ut de his dum vixero, alar.'
${ }^{2}$ Fol. 39 old ref. 40 new.

CHAP. VII.

Similar donation by a father and his sons.

都 -




Vhap. sion-viz. Meurig, who is said to have died a.d. $575 ;^{1}$ his son Athrwys, and his grandson Morcant.

The first three donations now to be considered were made whilst Jacob was Abbot of St. Cadoc, and the next two during the abbacy of Sulien. The first two were made during the lifetime of Meurig, and the rest in the time of his grandson Morcant. In the meantime, it was under Meurig's son, Athrwys, that the dispute arose between St . Oudoceus and Biuon, Abbot of St. Illtud, which gave rise to the charter in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' whereby the cells of the disciples of St. Dubricius-Cyngualan, Arthruodu, and Congur-which had been lost in the Yellow Death, were confirmed to the see of Llandaff. The correspondence between the witnesses to this confirmatory charter and those of the following records of donations to the monastery of St. Cadoc, so far as it goes, is confirmatory evidence of the substantial genuineness of both. And the date of the donations is fixed within the limits of the episcopacy of Oudoceus, roughly embracing the closing decades of the sixth century.

Purchase from a chieftain and his family of land, thereupon given to St. Cadoc.

Notū sit omìib; $\mathfrak{q} d$ Guorcinnun emit uillā Reathr a Mourico in $x^{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{a}$ hereditatē $p$ gladio cuil capulū extitit deauratū $\mathfrak{p} c i u ̄ ~ . ~ x x v ~ . ~ u a c c a r u ̄ ~$ app̄ciatū . Imptit ${ }^{9}$. ẽ . $\AA_{\text {¢ }}$ Concennio Pauli filio equū in p̧cio . iiijor . uaccar̃. Preciar̃ etiā triū unciar̃ uestiñti .

Be it known to all that Guorcinnun bought the villa Reathr from Mouricus for his own inheritance for a sword whosehilt was gilded and valued at the price of twenty-five cows. He bestowed also on Concennius, son of Paulus, a horse of the value of four cows, also of

[^157]Cōmoro aũ q̃ndā equū optimū Concenni filio. S3 z Andreso Morcanti filio gladiū i pecio. iiijor . uaccar̃. Itē idē largit ${ }^{\text { }}$. ẽ. Pe:iū . iiijor uaccar̃. Iudnertho Mourici filio unāq̧ bouẽ Cornouano nutitori suo $\mathfrak{z}$ aliā uaccà pcuratori regis Guengartho. $\mathrm{P}^{\circ}$ hāc $\mathrm{g}^{\circ}$ emptionē tenuer̃t Mouric $\mathfrak{Z}$ Concen $g^{\text {asp }}$ phiā carte sup manū Guorcinn n sēpit̃nā hereditatē sibi 't ei ${ }^{9}$ ggeniei. Iñe u ${ }^{\circ}$ Guorcinn dedit hac uillā ecclesie sc̃i Cadoci in ppetuā possessionē . usq in diē iudicii . tenuitq cyrog ${ }^{\text {a }}$ phū donationis sup manū Iacobi abbis Carbani uallis $\underline{p}$ cōmemor̃one hui ${ }^{\text { }}$ elemosine corā idoneis testib3 - $q^{\circ}$ द nõa subscibunt ${ }^{r}$. Eudoce ep̃s . 't Cethig Pposit ${ }^{\text { }}$ altaris sc̃i Docgwini. Iacob; Pposit ${ }^{\text {P }}$ siue abђs altaris sc̃i Cadoci . $\ddagger$ familia ei $^{\ominus}$ secū. De familia Eltuti : Testes s̃t Conmoe p̧str . Conuul Magist . ₹ Ioseph p̂str . Biuone. Catgen. De laicis $\mathrm{u}^{\circ}$ : Mouric $^{2}$ t filii ei ${ }^{\text { }}$. Andrus . Guedgen. Bramail . Concit fili ${ }^{\ominus}$ Ermit Guorbes fili ${ }^{9}$ Berran. Geintoc . Assail . Arcon . Guallimir Iudhol . Matton . Eliud ${ }^{9}$ Hilon. Oñs testes sup hanc donationis consciptionē . Predicta nāq villa Reathr. cōpetebat Mesioco hereditario iure . cui Guorcinnī. equū phstitit ut huic concessioni adqiestet habentē pheiū triū uaccarū. Qui
garments of the worth of three ounces [of silver ?]. Moreover, to Commor, the son of Concennius, a certain ' best horse'; also to Andresus, son of Morcant, a sword of the value of four cows. Item, the same [donor] granted the price of four cows to Iudnerth, son of Mouricus, together with an ox to Cornovanus, his foster-father, and another cow to Guengarth, the procurator of the king. Therefore, on account of this purchase, Mouric and Concen held the writing of the charter upon the hand of Guorcinn for everlasting inheritance for himself and his offspring. Moreover, Guorcinn himself gave this villa to the church of St . Cadoc in everlasting possession till the day of judgment, and he held the chirograph of donation upon the hand of Jacob, the abbot of Carban valley, in commemoration of this alms, before fit witnesses whose names are subscribed. Eudoce, bishop, and Cethig, prepositus of the altar of St. Docgwin, Jacob, prepositus or abbot of the altar of St. Cadoc, and his family with him. Of the family of Illtud are witnesses: Conmoepriest, Conuulmagister, and Joseph priest, Biuone, Catgen. Of the laity Mouric and his sons Andrus, Gwedgen, Bramail, Concit son of Ermit, Gurbes son of Berran, Geintoc, Assail, Ar-

Chap. VII.

Crap. hoc temerauit: maledict ${ }^{9}$ erit VII. a Deo. ${ }^{1}$
con, Gwallimir, Iudhol, Matton, Eliudus, Hilon, all witnesses of this conscription of donation. For the aforesaid villa of Reathr belonged to Messiocus by right of inheritance, to whom Guorcinin gave a horse worth three cows that he should assent to this grant. Who shall violate this shall be accursed by God.

Goldhilted sword, \&c., used as money.

This record represents Guorcinnim as buying a certain villa from Meuric the king with a gold-hilted sword worth twenty-five cows. A horse worth four cows is also paid to Concenn. Vestments worth three ounces [of silver] are paid to Conmoe, and a 'best horse' to the son of Concenn. A sword worth four cows is given to the son of Morcant, and another worth four cows to the son of Meuric, and an ox is given to his foster-father. Lastly, a cow is paid to Guengarth, procurator of the King Meuric. This done, and the consent of all these having been thus obtained, Meuric and Concenn hold the written charter, according to the prevalent form of delivery, on the hand of Guorcinnm, the purchaser, in token of eternal inheritance to him and his descendants. Then the purchaser gives the villa so bought to the church of St. Cadoc, and holds the chirograph of the donation upon the hand of Jacob the abbot in the presence of Bishop Oudoceus and others. But even now all has not yet been done. Another person claims hereditary rights in the land, and Guor-

[^158]cinnim has to give him a horse worth three cows to get quit of his claim. Surely we have in this, as in some other cases, an example of a sale of land belonging to a chieftain's gwely.

Ostendendū . ẽ . futuris $\mathfrak{q}$ temporū mutacionib; et regū successib; . $\mathrm{q} d$ Mouric $^{9}$ Rex dedit partē agri $\ddagger$ aïa sua $q^{i}$ uocat ${ }^{\text {r }}$ Insule Tuican. ac due partes ag ${ }^{i} \dot{q} p p^{i} e$ fuert Gorbrith Z Gassoc. necñ $\ddagger$ sororis sue paril Sule. sup q́ ēb; Mouric ${ }^{9}$ rex gashiā consciptionis tenuit sup manū Iacob abচ̄is Cathedre sc̃i Cadoci . ut ip̃e litas $\mathfrak{Z} q^{\text {in }}$ etas façet ab omi censu $\mathfrak{z}$ ab omi calūpnia . 't ab omib; 't seruitiis excepto famulitio sc̃i Cadoci. Qua ppt po hec dedit Iacob equū Mourico regi . at ille largit ${ }^{\text { }}$. ẽ. illū Guodgen filio Brocmaili . Hui ${ }^{9}$ rei testes s̃t . Iacob abЂs . Rumceneu . Catthig. 't pries eo弓̧ Cōmogoe. Conmil. Guorgeneu . Beuonoe . Catgen . Hearngen . Crasgell . Outegurn . Guitlon . Sulien. Clerici. De laicis Mouric² sup ipsū solū • 'Z sup filios suos. a gñratiōein gĩrationē. Gueldgen fili ${ }^{\ominus}$ Brocmail . Guallunir . Guorcinnim . Guorbes . Morcenev. Morhoen. Hii št testes sup hoc pactū : ut . ñ. soluatr in ênū . Deiñ Mouric ${ }^{\text { }}$ rex confirmauit hāc donationé sup altare sc̃i Cadoci corā senioribz suis. Quic̃q, conseruaûit bñdict ${ }^{\text {² }}$

Be it declared to posterity, because of the changes of times and the successions of kings, that King Mouric gave for his soul a part of the land called Insula Tuican and two parts of the land which belonged to Gorbrith and Gassoc as well as their sister Sula, equally, with respect to which King Mouric held the written document upon the hand of Jacob abbot of the chair of St. Cadoc, so that he himself might make them free and quit from all census, and all claims, and all services except the service of the family of St. Cadoc. Wherefore in this behalf Jacob gave a horse to King Mouric and he bestowed it upon Guodgen son of Brocmail. Of this thing are witnesses : Jacob abbot, Rumceneu, Catthig, and their fathers Conmogoe, Conmil, Guorgeneu, Beuonoe, Catgen, Hearngen, Crasgell, Outegurn, Guitlon, Sulien, clergy. Of the laity: Mouric on behalf of himself alone and his sons, from generation to generation Gueldgen son of Brocmail, Guallunir, Guorcinnim, Guorbes, Morcenev, Morhoen. These

Donation by a chieftain confirmed on the altar before his elders.

Chap. VII.

CHAP. VII.
erit. $7 q^{i}$ dissol ${ }^{\text {hit }}$ maledict ${ }^{\text {² }}$ erit a Deo. ${ }^{1}$
are witness over this agreement that it be not loosed for ever. Then King Mouric confirmed this donation upon the altar of St. Cadoc before his own elders. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever dissolves it shall be cursed by God.

This record is very similar to the last, except that the donation, after the usual formalities of delivery, is confirmed upon the a ${ }^{1}$ tar of St. Cadoc by Meuric the king in the presence of his elders. Nor is it needful to dwell upon the next.

Donation of land with usual food-rent.

Sciendū ẽ q̃d Terengual dedit agrū Lecguoidel Đo Z Cadoco $q^{i}$ annuatī psoluet Ca doco $\mathfrak{Z}$ familie ei ${ }^{9}$ tres modios ceruise $\mathfrak{t}$ panes $\mathfrak{z}$ carnes $\mathfrak{t}$ si forte ceruisa caruerit :' reddet. iiiior . modios titici ũl clamidē albū . Hāc elemosinā dedit Terengual Đo $\mathfrak{t}$ sc̃o Cadoco liђam $\mathfrak{t}$ qietā ab on̄i regali ' treno seruitio . $p$ aỉa sua $\mathfrak{q} \nsubseteq$ aĩa Morcāt.

Inde testes s̃t Iacob phosit ${ }^{9}$ altaris Cadoci $\tau$ familia $\mathrm{ei}^{\ominus}$. Conmogoi . Conuul. Ioseph . Biuuonoi. Catgen . De famili Eltuti . testes . Marcant. Gualunir . Guedgen . Guengarth.

Finis $h^{9}$ agi $^{1}$. ẽ . a Pull tenbuib:' usq, Dirprisc. Quic̃q, seruan̉it bñdict? sit . 't $q^{i}$ uiolauit maledict ${ }^{9}$ erit a $Đ o{ }^{2}$

Be it known that Terengual gave the land Lecguoidel to God and Cadoc, which annually shall pay to Cadoc and his familia three modii of beer, and bread and flesh, and if by chance beer shall be lacking, it shall give four modii of wheat or a white cloak. This alms gave Terengual to God and St. Cadoc free and quit from all regal and earthly service for his soul and the soul of Morcant. Witness thereof are Jacob prepositus of the altar of Cadoc and his familia, Conmogoi, Connual, Joseph, Biuuoni, Catgen. Of the familia of Illtud are witnesses : Marcant, Guallunir, Guedgen, Guengarth. The boundary of this land is from Pulltenbuib as far as Dirprisc. Whoso shall keep this be blessed, and whoso shall violate it shall be cursed by God.

[^159]The following record refers to the fratricide already mentioned of Merchiun, and the donation to St. Cadoc of Lann Catgualader, with its census of three modii of beer, by way of redemption of the crime.

A very similar record of donation is contained in the 'Book of Llan Dav,' but making Berthguin, Bishop of Llandaff, the recipient of the gift.

Notificandū . ẽ. postis $\tilde{q}^{d}$ dedit Guoidnerth Lann Catgualader Đo $\mathfrak{t}$ sc̃o Cadoco $q^{a t i n}{ }^{2}$ $q^{\circ} t$ annis uas . iii . modiorū çuise illi psolueretr cū ōnibz debitis ppl fricidiū germani sui Merchiun - atg tandem reddit ${ }^{2}$ dedit Docgwinno. Sup hoc testes fueirt Berthgwin ${ }^{2}$ epc̃. Conmil. Terchan $\ddagger$ Congregatio ei ${ }^{9}$. Sulien abbs. Nant carban . Lumbiu psstr . Biuoni . Iouab. Z Congregatio sc̃i Cadoci . Saturn pinces altaris Docgwinni . Marcant .
 : benedict ${ }^{2}$ erit. Et $q^{1}$ temeraiuit !'maledict${ }^{\text {e }}$ erit a Deo. ${ }^{1}$

Be it made known to posterity that Guoidnerth gave Lann Catgualader to God and St. Cadoc to the end that each year should be paid to him (Cadoc) a vessel of three modii of beer with all dues, on account of the fratricide of his own brother Merchiun, and after that he gave the rents to Dogwin. Concerning this the witnesses were Berthgwin bishop, Conmil, Terchan and his congregation, Sulien abbot of Nantcarban, Lumbiu priest, Biuoni, Saturn chief of the altar of Dogwin, Marcant, Guoidnerth. Whoever shall keep this shall be blessed, and whoever shall violate it shall be cursed by God.

The following record is perhaps the most graphic and interesting of all :-

Sciendū. ẽ. qud Morcant Rex uenando uenit usq, ad ripā fluminis Nadhauon $z$ iecit accipitrē sup anatē. ' $\mathfrak{t}$ ambo simul accipil $t$ anas fluñ uolatu $t^{\text {annsmeauert }}$. Et subito ueniebat aqila de ripa maris ut rapet

Be it known that Morcant, king, came a-hunting to the bank of the river Nadhauon, and threw his hawk upon a duck, and both at once hawk and duck crossed the river in their flight. And suddenly

Chap.
VII.

Donation in redemption of fratricide.

[^160]Donation by a chief and his procura. tor of a rilla and its census.

Chap. VII.
accipitrē . Qđ ut uidit Marcant rex : ualde čtistat ${ }^{\text { }}$. ẽ. Ast concite alūpn ${ }^{9}$ regis ueniens nõe Guengarth. eques c̃ scuto I gladio ac lancea se in flum pripuit . ' accipitrē a raptu aqile n modico uiritr eripuit: uer̃ etiā leporit accipitrē cū anate ad manū Morcant Regis attulit. illūq, tali facinore ñ minimú letificauit. Quo cica dix Morcant Guengartho . Ecce tibuo ti uilla Cadroc in ius hereditariū habentē longitudinē ab urbe Trotguid: usc ad flum Nadauan. 't latitudinē a fonte Guengarth :' usq, ad aliū fontē Guengarth. Eodē die Morcāt 'z Guengarth prexer̃t ad q${ }^{\circ}$ ddā Tritoriū Cadocj. ' t tibuit Guengarth Đo $\ddagger$ sc̃o Cadoco censū pscipte uille Cadroc $\propto$ aila sua $\mathfrak{z}$ p aĩa Morcanti regis. scit sinğlis annis . xii . modios çuise 't sextariū mellis . debitū ${ }_{\mathrm{q}}^{\mathrm{s}}$ panē 't carnē. Insup etiā idē Guengarth dedit Conmogoy Hipiclaur gladiū sū̄ deauratū $p$ aïa sua $\mathfrak{q} d$ habuit $\hat{\text { pheiū }}$. $1 x x^{\text {ta }}$. uaccar̃. Quare consuluit Cōmogoẏ Guengardo qo gladiū illū Morcanto pstaret. ut ille donationē Guengardi c̃firmaret sup pago Catroc: ' $\mathfrak{q} d \mathfrak{t}$ fec̃ . Qua de re Morcant p?libatā donationē ratā habuit $\mathrm{at}_{\mathrm{c}}^{\mathrm{z}}$ scipto corroborauit sup manū Sulien illa illine fore litā $\mathfrak{z} q^{i}$ etā ab oni treno seruitio . uerū fundit ${ }^{9}$ obseqº Đi Z sc̃i Cadoci obnoxia.

Hui ${ }^{9}$ rei testes s̃t. Morcāt. sup se ipsū . ut nullus hui ${ }^{\text {e }}$
there came an eagle from th sea shore to seize the hawk Which when King Morcan saw he was exceeding sorrow ful, but in a moment a foste son of the king, named Guen garth, coming up on horsebacl with shield and sword and lance, hurled himself into th river, and with no little braver snatched the hawk from the grip of the eagle. And, more over, lightly brought the hawl with the duck to the hand o: Morcant the king, and by such achievement delighted him no a little. Whereupon Morcant said to Guengarth : 'Behold, ] grant to thee the villa Cadroc as an inheritance stretching from the city Trotguid as far as the river Nadavan, and in breadth from the spring Guengarth as far as another spring Guengarth.' On the same day Morcant and Guengarth reached a certain territory of Cadoc, and Guengarth consigned to God and St. Cadoc the census of the aforesaid villa Cadroc for his soul and the soul of Morcant the king, to wit every year twelve modii of beer and a sextar of honey, and the bread and flesh due therewith. Over and above this the same Guengarth gave to Conmogoy for his soul his gilded sword 'Hipiclaur,' which was of the value of seventy cows. Wherefore, Conmogoy concurred with Guengarth when he bestowed
fritorii pcurator extat $\mathrm{n}^{\mathbf{1}}$ Guengarth ' heredes illi ${ }^{9}$. De Cticis. Sulien . Cōmogoi . Danoc . Guorguethen. Legan. Elgnou . De laicis $\mathbf{u}^{\circ}$ Guingueri . Iacob . Boduan . Elguan . Gurhitr Cuncuan . Quic̃q $c^{5}$ todierit that erit. ' q qi ifregit maleđ a Đo ₹ a Cadoco . Añ. ${ }^{1}$
that sword on Morcant, that he should confirm the donation of Guengarth with regard to the ' pagus' Catroc, which also he did. Concerning which thing Morcant aforesaid ratified the donation, and corroborated it by a writing upon the hand of Sulien, thenceforth to be free and quit from all earthly service, but completely subject to the service of God and St. Cadoc. Of this thing are the witnesses Morcant on behalf of himself that no one should be procurator of this territory except Guengarth and his heirs. Of the clergy : Sulien, Conmogoi, Danoc, Guorguethen, Legan, Elgnou. Of the laity: Guingueri, Jacob, Boduan, Elguan, Gurhitr, Cuncuan. Whoever shall guard this shall be blessed, and whoever shall break it shall be cursed by God and St. Cadoc.

Morcant, the grandson of Meuric, is hawking with Guengarth, his procurator, and, as a reward for saving his hawk, the impulsive king gives him on the spot a villa, apparently, according to the boundaries, adjoining that occupied by Guengarth. Then the two together, on the same day, go to a certain territory of St. Cadoc, and there Guengarth gires to St. Cadoc the census of the villa so lately given to him by Morcant for the souls of himself and King Morcant-namely, twelve modii of beer and a sextar of honey, and the usual bread and flesh. Thereupon Guengarth gives to Conmogor, a cleric, his gilded

[^161]Chap VII.

Chap
VII.

A gilded sword named

- Hipiclaur,' worth seventy cows, and used as money.

Donation of land at Caerleon.
sword named 'Hipiclaur,' worth seventy cows, for his soul. And the reason why Guengarth has to give him the sword turns out to be that the confirmation of Conmogoy is needful to the donation. Lastly, the king Morcant confirms it by a writing placed on the hand of Sulien, the abbot of St. Cadoc, and witnesses that no one shall be procurator of that territory except Guengarth and his heirs. ${ }^{1}$

We have now arrived at the last of these records.

Significandū. ẽ q̃d Retone dimidiā partē agi iuxta Ciuitatē Legionis Đo atq̧ Sc̃o Cadoco ppetuo iure possidendā $\mathfrak{q}$ illū ћeditario iure contigebat. inn $q z \tilde{t c}$ ad Herbic deuoluta fuerat eandē ab illo emit. ' Đo ' sc̃o Cadoco tibuit.

Cui ${ }^{9}$ rei ' st testes. Herbic . Curnet . Congale cler̃i . De laicis. Guornet. Guedguon . Guedgui . Son ${ }^{\text {® }}$. Atderreg . Qui $\mathrm{c}^{9}$ todierit. sit br̃dict ${ }^{9}$. $q^{\text {i }}$ uiolả̉it sit maledict ${ }^{\text {. }}$. A $\tilde{m}^{2}{ }^{2}$

Be it signified that Retone [gave] the half share of land near Caerleon to God and to St. Cadoc in perpetual right of possession which concerned him by right of inheritance, and after had devolved upon Herbic, bought the same from him and gave it to God and St. Cadoc. Of which thing are witnesses: Herbic, Curnet, Congale, of the clergy. Of the laity: Guornet, Guedguon, Guedgui, Sonus, Atderreg. Who shall keep this shall be blessed, who shall violate it shall be cursed. Amen.

## X. authenticity of the early evidence.

The reader will now be able to judge for himself

These early records in keeping with tribal rules as to the family character of ownership.
how far in these remarkable records we seem more or less to breathe the air of the sixth century, into which the lamentations of Gildas introduced us.

On the one hand, comparing the character of the transactions recorded with what has been already

[^162][^163]learned from the Codes and surveys of the tribal system, surely the habits and actions of the donors of

CRAP. VII. - the donations are in close keeping with the customary rules of tribal chieftainship.

In the family character of their ownership and the necessity for the concurrence of relations, both as regards the redemption of their crimes and the validity of their grants, there is strong incidental evidence both of the mutual responsibility for crime and of the land ownership in guelys under the rules of tir gweliawc.

At the same time, the use of gold-hilted swords, and vestments, and 'best horses,' instead of moneythe unit of value. nearly all of them equated with cows-belongs to that earlier stage of tribal life to which the Codes look back as the period when ' all payments were made in cattle,' a period of which the reckoning of the gradations in the galanas in cows was a survival.

The moral atmosphere of these transactions clearly belongs to a lower and an earlier stratum of tribal life than that of the Codes. The impulsive passions of the chieftains, leading to so many murders of members of their own family, naturally belong to the uncurbed, childish stage of human life, which is prone to superstition, and succumbs so easily to spiritual terrors. It is in this early stage that pride and passion so soon are succeeded by temporary remorse and submission. At no other time than in the first moment of contact with the Church would the chieftains of conquering tribes be likely to succumb so submissively to the purely moral and spiritual power of the saints and the monks.

Nor at any other period than this of first contact

Chas. would conquering chieftains follow tribal instincts
VII.

Mutual influence of the Church and tribal system.

Formalities and forms of delivery. so impulsively as not only to endow with donations the conquering spiritual power, but also themselves to rush into its communion, claiming chieftainship in it by themselves becoming monks and saints, so giving rise to saintly families of royal or chieftain blood, as in the case of St. Cadoc himself, St. Dubricius, and others.

The tribal system to a certain extent absorbed into itself the spiritual power to which the successors of Cunedda had to yield. And how naturally and inevitably this process of mutual absorption of one another by the tribal and spiritual powers produced or promoted in South Wales precisely those scandals, both in churchmen and chieftains, to which the lamentations of Gildas so loudly bore contemporary witness !

Finally recurring to the technical side of these donations, and comparing the picturesque formalities used in making them with contemporary Continental forms, there is close resemblance without servile imitation. Perhaps nowhere else do we find exactly the formality of placing the writing upon the hand (super manum) of the recipient in the presence of witnesses There is an out-of-doors air about this form which seems to show that the transactions did not always take place in a church. Where the transaction took place in a church, the writings, as on the Continent, were laid upon the altar, or upon the copy of the Gospels which lay upon the altar. These Gospels naturally became, as in the case of the copy which Gelhi purchased from the [cell of] Cingual, and placed on the altar of St. Teilo, the
recipients of memoranda of similar donations, but there is no mention in the Cadoc records of this

CHAP.
VII. practice having yet commenced.

All this is in keeping with the methods described in the Alamannic and Bavarian laws of the early seventh century.

There is the same correspondence in the process by which an absolute donation is made to the Church to last for all eternity, or 'till the day of judgment,' whilst at the same time continued usufruct of the property is permitted to the donor or his family on payment of the customary food-rent. Where else can be found among British records anything like the habitual use of what quotations from the Alamannic and Bavarian laws and from the Rules of St. Benedict prove to have been common forms in use on the Continent in the sixth and seventh centuries?

The origin of these forms of donation in the development of Roman law has been clearly described at length by the late M. Fustel de Coulanges. ${ }^{1}$ There was first the simple donation with a reservation of the usufruct. The Roman law allowed even the devise by the testator of the property to one person with. out the usufruct, which went in that case to his heir.

But there was also the other method by which, having made a donation, the donor received back the usufruct as a benefice or as a precaria. M. de Coulanges pointed out that originally the transaction in such cases was a triple one. First came the absolute donatio. Secondly came the petitio for continued

[^164]Chap. user. Thirdly, the transaction was completed by the

The records not likely to be forged. prcestatio on the part of the new owner, by which the donor received permission to continue the occupation as a precaria. But ultimately the processes were more or less united in one transaction, and recorded in a single document.

Thus both methods resulted practically in very much the same thing. The St. Gall charters sometimes take one form and sometimes the other. They both were connected with the practice of commendation which had grown into importance under the peculiar circumstances described by Salvian-the Gildas of Gaul-and both were probably equally familiar to the ecclesiastics of Brittany and South Wales.

To which of the two classes the Cadoc donations belong it is not perhaps easy to determine.

In the meantime it is enough for this inquiry, if, without claiming that the records were often contemporary with the donations, the facts they record may be taken as substantially authentic. We are not dealing with them here as title-deeds to properties, but as evidence of tribal habits and customs at the time of the first contact between the chieftains and the Church. And surely, all things taken together, it can hardly be considered likely, or even possible, that any monastic scribe of a later century could so far anticipate modern historical methods as to acquire the knowledge and the skill whereby he could put himself so completely into the atmosphere of the sixth century as to be able to forge records such as these of St . Cadoc and Llan Dav without at least a basis of contemporary authority.

## XI. Value of the early evidence.

If, in conclusion, we may fairly regard these records, whether themselves strictly contemporary or not, as, in the main, describing with substantial correctness sixth-century transactions between tribal

Chap VII. Value of the early eridence. chieftains and the abbots of monastic churches, they have a value for the purpose of this inquiry which will justify the amount of attention bestowed upon them.

Without entering into questions reserved for an other volume, there are two points to which special reference may be made.

First as to the food-rents. Passing by, for the present, the remarkable resemblance between the food-rents of the Cadoc records and those of the servile and other holdings described in the Alamannic and Bavarian laws, it will be seen, upon closer examination, that the food-rents of the Cadoc records are arranged upon a system which, in principle, corresponds remarkably with that of the Welsh Codes.

The one case in which the food-rent was described as the cibaria for three nights in summer and three nights in winter illustrates the mention in the Dimetian Code of the obligation connected with the payment of the guestra to light the chieftain's fire for three nights.

But apart from this direct allusion to the ' nights' entertainment' there is a system incidentally running through the records which shows that, as in the Codes, the holdings were arranged in multiples of a certain unit of possession or area from which the unit of food-rent was due.

The donations are of larger or smaller areas of

The fuodrents of the Cadoc records.

The provision for three nights.

The connection of the foodrents with the land.

CHAP. VII.

The foodrents graduated in multi. ples of three modii of beer.

Correspondence in principle with st. Chad food-rents and those of the Codes.
land, varying from the lann and half-ager, up to the villa or pagus, and the food-rents rise accordingly. There are two cases each of a half-ager and one of a lann, and these each pay three modii of beer. There are two cases of the full ager with a foodrent of six modii of beer. There are two cases of villow paying nine modii of beer, three cases of villce (one of them also called a pagus) and another of an ager, paying twelve modii of beer, and lastly one villa paying eighteen modii of beer. The food-rents embraced bread, flesh, and honey in addition; but it is obvious that the size of the donation was measured by its food-rent in multiples of the unit of three modii of beer.

There are no data affording ground even for a guess as to which of the multiples of the unit of three modii corresponded with the 'three nights' entertainment,' and even if there were such data it would be too much to expect exact correspondence between the food-rents of the Cadoc donations and those of the Codes. It is enough if the correspondence in principle between the food-rents of the Codes, of the entries in the margin of the 'Book of St. Chad,' and of the Cadoc records is close enough to warrant the inference that the system of food-rents with local or temporal differences was substantially the same throughout, and that it formed an essential element in the arrangements of tribal society in Wales from the time of the Cymric invasion or a still earlier period to the final conquest of North Wales.

The other point referred to as relevant to this part of the inquiry relates to the tenacity with which the tribal instinct of patriarchal and family,
rather than individual, possession was maintained throughout.

Perhaps it would be difficult to find a stronger proof of this than the fact that it was applied to what, at first sight, would not seem to lend itself readily to such application. The Cadoc records, as already pointed out, are full of incidental evidence that even a chieftain could not make a donation without the concurrence of other members of his family. Even the chieftainship seems from the first to have been a family privilege and, in a way, shared by brothers or sons as though it were a family possession.

Allusion has already been made to the harmony in this particular between the Codes and the Cadoc records as pro tanto evidence in support of the authenticity of the latter. But, conversely, the authenticity of the Cadoc records being granted, their evidence that this trait of the tribal system was in force from the first Cymric conquest of Wales becomes important.

When it is considered that in no fewer than seven of these records the donations are family donations, in the sense that the consent of others of the family of the chieftain making the donation was necessary to its validity, the evidence is very strong in confirmation of that of the Codes as to the family character of the chieftainship.

Again, the stipulation in the last record but one, that, after the donation to the monastery of St. Cadoc by the King Morcant and his foster-son and procurator Guengarth of a villa or pagus, ' no one should be procurator of this territory except Guengarth and his heirs,' is incidental evidence how early even
('hap. VII.

The tribal rule of family ownership applied in the Cadoc records to the property of the chieftains, afterwards applied to ecclesias. tical benefices in Wales.

Chap. tribal offices under the chieftain tended to become Cambrensis.

Example in the case of Caergybi. hereditary in a family.

This is in complete harmony with the fact revealed by later evidence that even when a chieftain founded a church the same instinct resulted in the benefice being held as a family possession.

Giraldus Cambrensis was not slandering the Church, but giving unwilling testimony to the tenacity of a tribal instinct, when he complained that nearly all the Welsh churches had as many parsons and coparceners as there had been families of chief men (uchelurs) in the parish. ${ }^{1}$ He also complained that sons obtained the benefices by succession from their fathers, not by election but by inheritance, and that the institution of any other person would lead to acts of revenge on the part of the kin. He adds that these two abuses were evidently inherently British, inasmuch as they prevailed in Brittany also.

The existence of portionary or tribal churches in Wales appears also in the 'Taxatio' of St. Nicholas in A.D. 1291, and as an actual instance of the application of tribal rules to ecclesiastical patronage it is only necessary to refer to the case of Caergybi in Anglesey, to which Mr. A. Neobard Palmer called attention, and the facts of which he was able to trace with remarkable success in the Record of Carnarvon. ${ }^{2}$

In this case two chieftains seem in the twelfth century to have joined in restoring the ruined church

[^165][^166]$$
\text { Value of the Early Evidence. } 233
$$
or monastery of Caergybi, and in the record of Carnarvon and another document of the fourteenth century the weles sprung from these two chieftains are still found to possess fractional rights of patronage to the canonries-rights which had descended to them according to the rules of tir gweliave.

This is a late illustration of the extent to which the tribal system in Wales, as in Ireland, forced even ecclesiastical arrangements into its mould. And it adds interest to the earlier evidence of the same tendency already visible in the Cadoc records. In spite of the Continental form of the records on the ecclesiastical side, the recorded transactions themselves are distinctly those of tribal chieftains acting under tribal custom already formed and in force.

It was not without great hesitation that the substantial authenticity of these records was admitted, but, once admitted, the importance of their evidence made it necessary to give to them due place in this volume. ${ }^{1}$

[^167]ing in the Church of St. Cadoc covered with gold and silver,' and as used by the Welsh for taking oaths upon, in Caradoc of Lancarvon's Life of Giildas (Usher's Works, v. $53 . \%$.

CHAP. VII. The rights of patron. age became subject to the rules of the tir greliarec.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CONCLUSION.

Chap. VIII.

Cymric tribal system has been examined on its own evidence, and why?

The description in the Codesconfirmed by evidence from two opposite poles.

Throughout this volume attention has been purposely confined almost exclusively to the strictly Welsh evidence.

Further light may undoubtedly be thrown upon the Cymric tribal system by extension of the inquiry to other tribal systems, and by a careful use of the comparative method. But in this volume the object has been to obtain a solid and independent foundation to be used as a stepping-stone to further research. And it seemed best to do this by the examination of the Cymric tribal system on its own evidence.

The reader will be able to judge how far this object has been substantially attained.

If, on the one hand, the facts recorded in the Denbigh and other Extents by the surveyors have been found to be the natural results of the longcontinued use of the rules of customary tribal law collected and recorded in the Codes and other legal treatises, and if, on the other hand, the authenticity of their description of tribal custom has been in some main points corroborated by the records of sixth-century donations to the monasteries, then it may fairly be said that the picture of tribal society
derived from the Codes has received confirmation from two opposite poles.

In both cases, too, the evidence comes from outside of the tribal system itself, and from disinterested, legally trained, and independent witnesses.

On the one hand, Norman surveyors, coming upon the tribal system full of manorial theories and used to manorial phraseology, found themselves compelled against their own instincts to describe large districts as still occupied by weles of tribesmen embracing descendants down to great-grandchildren and paying from time immemorial their quota of commuted food-rents. And again Norman lawyers, putting into their own legal language the donations of halfAnglicised tribal chieftains, found it needful to make the kinsmen and families of the chieftains join in the grants. Norman evidence on these points was reluctant and convincing.

In the same way, on the other hand, Gallic ecclesiastics of the sixth century or later, accustomed to Roman law and to the use of Merovingian formulæ, found themselves under a similar necessity. Their incidental description of the habits of tribal chieftains, the family character of their tribal donations of land, and the prevalence of food-rents in the sixth as in the thirteenth century, when admitted as substantially authentic, was as impartial and convincing in its way as that of the later Norman surveyors.

Thus supported by extrinsic exidence from two quarters, before and after an interval of six centuries, the description of the tribal system in Wales contained in the Codes and legal treatises can no longer,

CeAp.
VIII.

Strength of the evidence of the Norman surveyors.

The incidental
evidence of sixth century Gallic ecclesiastics equally convincing. of the existence of tribal custom explains the Codes and other treatises.
it is submitted, be regarded with the same suspicion as may have been heretofore justified.
The existence of a body of tribal custom extending over so many centuries being now proved on independent and outside evidence, the character of the documents themselves becomes more easily understood. It becomes natural that at various times and in various localities collections of tribal rules and customs should be made, such as those which have come down to us of more or less merit and authority. The fact that some of them are modern, and yet contain ancient traditions of tribal rules in the form of Triads on the one hand and adaptations of modern forms of pleadings to Welsh customs on the other hand, no longer need raise suspicion of invention and literary dishonesty. For the tribal system was not a system coined by one brain and enacted by one lawgiver at a particular date. Its customary rules had grown up with the Cymric tribe in Northern Cumbrian lands as well as in the old Cymric district of Powys. Subject more or less to modification and growth, the structure of tribal society in its main features had existed in Wales from the first coming of Cunedda and his sons to the conquest of Edward I. It had lingered on, suffering, no doubt, partial disintegration, till the substitution of English for Welsh law under Henry VIII.

The Venedotian, Dimetian, and Gwentian Codes. traditionally dating back to the time of the first attempt to commit tribal customs to writing under Howell the Good, contain undisguised additions of later date. These additions imply the previous existence of the main body of custom, and in no way
suggest its modern origin. The more private and recent treatises, written after the conquest, add

Chap. VIII greatly to our knowledge of ancient custom, without professing to add anything to its authority.

The conquest itself, and the necessary inquiries of Norman lawyers into the mysteries of tribal law, may well have been the direct cause of the making of some of these collections; and the fact that Welsh law was not abolished till the statute of Henry VIII., and not forgotten till the Crown lawyers of Queen Elizabeth brought the various classes of tenants-free tribesmen and non-tribesmen-under some category of English law, explains the possibility of even very late versions of old tribal custom. But the later the version and the farther it was remored from the time when ancient tribal custom existed in its full force, the more difficult would it be for its author to invent a body of custom from which it would be possible to arrive at the principles and details of the structure of a tribal society such as that examined in the foregoing pages.

The strongest possible proof that such a tribal society as is described in the Codes and treatises once existed in Wales must after all be found in the fact that, so far from its being isolated in its character, it is so full of analogies, and bears in its structure marks of such close relationship to other tribal systems, that it is quite impossible to beliere it could have been the result of later invention or imposture. This intrinsic evidence, after all, is the strongest proof of its substantial authenticity.

On the whole, therefore, recurring to the object of this volume and its place in the wider economic

The intrinsic evidence the strongest proof of authenticity after all.

Chap. inquiry of which it forms only a part, it is with VIII. some confidence that the tribal system in Wales is placed before economic students as worthy of careful study.

No attempt has been made to forestall the results of further critical examination of Celtic manuscripts by competent Celtic scholars, or to exhaust the rich materials for Welsh history which lie all but unused in the Public Record Office.

New material will be discovered, and that imperfectly made use of in this volume will require repeated reconsideration. Some of the inferences drawn from it will, no doubt, need correction. But in so far as the attempt has been approximately successful to place the knowledge of the main features of one single tribal system upon a solid foundation of evidence, a step at least will have been gained towards a knowledge of other tribal systems and of their place in economic history.

The further pursuance of the inquiry, with reference chiefly to the methods of this and other tribal societies, must be left to another volume.

## APPENDICES.

## CONTENTS OF THE APPENDICES.

> APPENDIX A.
> DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ABERFFRAW.
a. Extent of Anglesey, 22 Edw. I., 13 March, A.D. 1294 . . 3
b. Sheriff's Account of Aberffraw and Penros, 30 Edw. I., A.D. 130226
c. Petition of the Villani of Penros, and Inquisitions as to their
Customs and Services, 16 Edw. II., A.D. 1322 . . . 27
d. Court Roll of Aberffraw, 20 Edw. III., A.D. 1346 . . . 32
e. Extent of Aberffraw with its Hamlets, 13 Edw. III., A.D. 133934
f. Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw with its Hamlets
[A.D. 1320-1340] . . . . . . . . . 37
g. Account of the Issues of Aberffraw, 25 Edw. III., A.D. 1851 . 46

## APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE CASTLE AND HONOR OF DENBIGH, 8 EDW. III., A.D. 1335.
a. Extent of the Villata of Astret Canon. Progenies of Canon ap
Lauwargh located there . . . . . . . . 49
b. Extent of the Villata of Nanthyn Canon. Progenies of Canon
ap Lauwargh located there . . . .
c. Extent of the Villata of Prees. Progenies of Canon ap Lau.
wargh and Pithle ap Lauwargh located there . . . 57

## Contents of the Appendices.

PAGI
d. Extents of the Villatæ of Dennant, Grugor, Quilbreyn, Pennau- aleth, Penglogor, Hendreuennyth, Prestelegot, and Petrual, in the Cymwd of Ughalet, where the Progenies of Rand' Vaghan ap Asser held ..... 61
e. Extent of the Villata of Wickwere, with the Hamlets of Boydroghyn and Kilmayl, in which the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk held ..... 72
f. Extent of the Villata of Dynorbyn Vaur ..... 89
g. Extent of the Villata of Tebrith, with the Hamlets of Maencok and Keuenkestilth ..... 93
h. Extract from the Cymwd of Rewaynock Ughalet ..... 96
i. Extract from the Cymwd of Ussalet . ..... 96
APPENDIX C.
EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, A.D. 1326 ..... 97
APPENDIX D.
INQUISITION CONCERNING THE SEIZURE BY PRINCE LLEWELYN OF' LANDS HELD IN DOWER BY A WIDOW, AND CHARTERS OF GRIFFIN, SON OF MADOC, LORD OF BROMFELD, GRANTING THE VILLE OF HENGEMERE, LANERPANNA, AND CNOLTON, AND THE MANOR OF EYTUNE, IN MAELOR SEYSNEK, TO EMMA, HIS WIFE, FOR HER LIFE; AND CONFIRMATION BY BIS SONS MADOC, LLYWELYN, OWEN, AND GRIFFIN, A.D. 1270 ..... 101
APPENDIX E.
ENFRANCHISEMENT OF A GWELY OF NATIVI HoLDING IN TIEEGIFRIF IN THE VILLA OF BRYNGWYN, A.D. 1355 ..... 106
APPENDIX F.
EXCHEQUER K. R. EXTENTS. ROLL 51 ..... 107

## APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A a.

EXTENT OF ANGLESEY, 22 EDW. I., 13 MARCH, A.D. 1294.

Rentals and Surveys Roll 768, Public Record, Office. ${ }^{1}$
A ygleseya.
Extenta facta de villa de Lammas die Lune in $\mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{~s}$ tino scic
APP. A \&
Gregor Anno Regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo sčdo.
A.D. 1294.

De Redđ Burgagioz vitt de Lammas $p$ annū-viij. lĩ .viij. s .v. đ. õ $q^{a}$.

ऊs $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ —-viij. lï .viij. s .v. đ . of $q^{2}$.
De xiij carucat̃ ter $\tilde{r}$ que sunt in đnico Maner̃ de Lammas vidett de $q^{2} l i b ;$ carucat $x x x$. s.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}-\mathrm{xx}$. lĩ .x. $\frac{\text { s. }}{}$.
De quodam $p^{\text {at }}$ tu ibiđ $p$ annū .xxx. s̃.
De gardiñ Mañii $p$ annū-vj. s .viij. d.
De $q^{\circ}$ dam molenđ aqutico .C. s. Et aliud Molend iu eod Mantio obrutū de quo nich.
šs $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}-\mathrm{vj} .1 \overline{\mathrm{I}} . \mathrm{xvj} . \mathfrak{s}$. viij. đ.
De passag̃ eiusđm $p$ annū-xij. lĩ. De quol; doleo vini Exit ${ }^{9}$ ' $\begin{gathered}\text { chuis } \\ \text { venientis ad portum } \\ \text { Z cariağ } \\ \text { de portu } \\ u s q, ~ a d ~ v i l l a m ~ p o r t ~\end{gathered}$ sumptibz Reg̃ .x. đ. De custum̃ Messaz allec̃ vendit̃ vidz p.r. Meys̃ .j. đ. que valet .x. ミ̃. De quolib; batello

[^168]Apr. Aa. piscañ̃ allec̃ exeunte $\tilde{v} l$ ingrediente portum .j. Meis̃ Regi
A.D. 1294. p.ij. s̃. que custumma val3 p annū xvij. §̃. De custūma cui libet nauis applicañ̃ ad portū. iiij. đ. que valet .xxvj. ©̌ .viij. đ. Đ custuma batellǭ quoz̆ quilibz semel in annū cariare det victuał đni Reğ .xvj. s̊. Đ.v. passagiariis port ${ }^{\text {n }}$
 una caruc̃ ' duabz bouã terr̃ quas tenēt .xv. s̃ .viij. đ. - Theoloneo Carroğ carianciū corea lanas 't alias $\mathrm{M}^{\prime}$ ) candis nūdinar̃ pañ çuis Medoñ carnificū pistoz̆ sutoz $p$ annū .viij. lî .viij. s̃. Đ furno Reğ .xl. s̃. Đ quoļ bracineo čuis̃ .xxx. lag̃ p.vij. đ . ot. de quo .lx. š. Đ opac̃ ville de Lammas vidj. Metend carianå ' hcianđ .xxvj. \% .viij. đ De am̂c̃ Cữ releniis $\mathfrak{t}$ aliis pquis .xij. lî .x. š.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$-xliij. lï.x. s.... đ.


## Commot? de Dyndaythow.

De Redd asss . vilł de Thlandeuenay .Lvj. si ij. đ.
It̃m de potur̃ .xxiiij. š.
Ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$-iiij. ii ij. ij.
De Redđ ass's vill de Bathaůneneytha .Lxvij. s̃ .rj. đđ.
Đ potur̃ ei'sd .xxx. š.
̌s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$. iiij. lĩ .xvij. š .vj. đ.
De redđ̆ asš vilł de Bathaûwyon cū potura .Lxxviij. š. viij. đ. Ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}-$ Lxxviij. s. .viij. đ.
De redd ass vilt de Pentreyth .Lxxiiij. š .iiij. đ . õ.
Đ potur̃ eiथđ ville .xxx. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. Ciiij. s . .iiij. đ. ob.
De redd ass vilt de Castilheuthlaur .riij. s. .x. d. õ.
Đ potur̃ ei̊ diiij. ş.
šs $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. xij. s̃.x. đ. ob.
De redt ass̃ vill de Dynthylow 't de Şuic̃ hoĩm eiº d .xxij. s iiij. đ.

Đ potra eieq-x.xlvj. š .iiij. đ.
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{3}$ —Lxviij. s. .viij. đ.
De redđ ass̃ de Bodeueneu .xxvj. s̃ .viij. đ.
Đ Đnico ei${ }^{2}$ dm .vj. š.

APP. A a
A.D.
1294.

Đ potur̃ eiđ .xlvj. s̃ .iiij. đ.
De consuetudine 't shuic̃ hoĩm $i^{9}$ đtm .xiij. s. .x. đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathfrak{a}}$, iiij. lĩ .xij. s̃ .x. đ.
Đ redđ ass̃ vilt de Chstelbulhen .xviij. s s.iij. đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$.xviij. s̃ .iij. đ.
Đ redđ ass̃ vilt de Perkyr .v. š.
Đ potur̃ ei ${ }^{\text {® }}$ d.iij. š.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ —viij. s̃.
Đ redđ as̃ vilt de Portaythowe Cons̃ 7 \}uic̃ .x. s.
Đ passag̃ ei${ }^{\text {® }}$.Liij. s. .iiij. đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.Lxiij. ${ }^{\text {a .iiij. đ. }}$
Đ redđ asš cons̃ Ł suic̃ ville de Garytegwain vj. a s.j. đ.
ss $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}-\mathrm{vj} . \tilde{\text { s. }} \mathrm{j} . \mathrm{d}$.
Đ redđ ass̃ ville de Trefforbolcћ .iij. s siiij. đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ —iij. s̃ .iiij. đ.
Đ redđ ass̃ ville de Cremelynhelyn .iij. s̃ .iiij. đ.
De potur̃ ei ${ }^{\text {T}}$-xiij. s. ix. đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ —xvij. s̃.$j$. đ.
Đ aduocar̃ toci ${ }^{9}$ cōmoti $\mathfrak{p} d c ̃ i ~ . x v i j . ~ s ̃ ~ . i j . ~ đ . ~$
s̃ $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}-\mathrm{xvij} . \mathrm{s} . \mathrm{ij} . đ$.


## Extenta Mañii de Abberfray.

Primo . dicunt $\mathfrak{q} d$ in Mañio de Abberfrau sunt .r. carucat tre t vat carucat̃ p annū .xxx. š.
§̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ —vij. lĩ.x.....
Item sunt ibi .iij. Molend. que Reddit ${ }^{1} \mathrm{p}$ annū lx crannoc̃ blad 't vat $\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{nnoc} . \mathrm{ij}$. s.
is $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}-\mathrm{vj}$. lii.
It̃m de duobz $p^{a} \tilde{t} \tilde{q}$ vat $p$ annū .xiij. © s.iiij. đ.

Apr.A a. It de $q^{a} đ$ piscar̃ $\tilde{q}$ vat $p$ annū.$i j$. s̃.
A.D.
1294.

Redđ
litoz teñ ei? ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Manii.
s̃s $S^{2}{ }^{\text {. } x v . ~}{ }^{\text {s.iiij. đ. }}$
De redđ liboz̧ teñ ei9 đ ville .xxix. s̃ .viij. đ.
It de Hameletto de Bodeueuryke de redđ ass̃ .xv. s .xj. đ.
It̃m de Hameletto de Trefwaspatryke de redđ ass̃ lite teñ.x. s. $^{\text {. }}$

Đ villañ ei ${ }^{9}$ đ ville de Tunke .v. s̃ .vj. đ.
$Ð$ eisđm villañ in farina butir̃ 't lacte 't opa $\mathfrak{t}$.xiij. $\mathfrak{s}$ . vij . đ. ob.

Đ Hameleto de Trefberewet de redđ .ix. villañ .ix. s̃ .viij. đ.
$\boxplus$ iiijor $c^{a} n o c ̃ ~ f a r ̃ ~ o r d e i ~ . v . ~ s ̃ ~ . i i i j . ~ đ . ~$
$\boxplus$.ix. Multoñ .iiij. s .vj. đ.
$\boxplus$ ix agnis xviij. đ. de eisđtm villañ de butiro .ij. s̃ .iij. đ. x
Đ. C .iiij. oũ .vij. đ.
$\boxplus$. ix. galliñ ix. đ.
Đ dẽis ix hõibj xxxvj. s̃ .ij. đ. õ p opat̃. Clxj. diei.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}-\mathrm{vj}$. lĩ.xv. s. .vj. đ.
$\boxplus$ Hameleto de Dyncloydan de redđ uni ${ }^{\ominus}$ villañ .ij. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$ vidj de $Đ d$ Hibnico $\tilde{v} l$ mediet blađ $\mathfrak{t}$ lact̃ $\tilde{q} d$ vocat ${ }^{r}$ M ’ionuth.
$\boxplus$ filis Grigori ab Lewelyn de una $c^{a} n n o c ̃ ~ f r ̃ i ~ Z ~ i i i j o r ~$ $C^{a} n n o c ̃$ aueñ viij. s̃ .vj. đ.
$\boxplus$ eisđm de duob; Multoñ xij. đ.
De duob; agnis iiij. đ.
$\boxplus$ eisđm de butir vj đ.
Đ eisđ de .xl. ouis j. đ. ö.
$\mp$ eisđm de vj galliñ vj. đ.

Đ Pellipar de dimiđ $\mathrm{c}^{\text {ann }} \mathrm{n}$ oc̃ far̃ ordei de Međ uni ${ }^{9}$ Multoñ de Međ̉ uni ${ }^{9}$ agni . $Đ . x$. cunis de butir̃ de Međ uni ${ }^{9}$ galline


Smn-xviij. s .ix. đ. $q^{a}$.
De Hameleto de Weuentefrau de redđ villanoz̧ ei ${ }^{2} đ$.iij. $\Im$ iiij. đ.

Đ eisđ̛ de uno angno $\mathfrak{Z}$ dimiđ Angñ de butir̂ de xxx cunis de .v. galliñ 't dimiđ't de uno istor bladi de opac̃ $t^{1} u m$ dieद̧ .xviij. đ. õ. 't Responđ de M〕yonnyth cū villañ de Trefberewet.

Đ villañ de Aberfraw de redđ ass̃ dẽoç villanoz̧ .viij. s̃ .viij. đ.

Đ eisa de .x. cannoc̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ dimid fri.
$\boxplus$.vij. cannc̃ far̃ aueñ.
$\boxplus$.iiijor. cannoc̃ far̃ ordei .xlviij. s̃ .vij. đ.
Đ.ix. villañ ei̊${ }^{\text {d }}$ ville de lact $t^{\mathrm{i}} u m$ vacca̧. de iiijor Maltoñ dimiđ.
$\boxplus$.ix. angnis . de butir.
Đ. CL. oũ.
De xxvij galliñ-xvj. s .iij. đ.
Đ. .jj. tenew̃ vastis. de t ${ }^{i} b_{3}$ Multoñ. $Đ$.rj. angnis. de .ix. galliñ de butiro.

De C. oũ .v. s. j. đ.
It̃m sunt in dẽa villa .ix. villani de $q^{i} b$ exxvij galliñ ij. ş .iij. đ.

Đ quol; eo̧ opac̃ tíum diez ad serclanđ blađ 't vat opac̃o eoz̧. ij. s .iij. đ̄. q, quilibz eǫ̧ recipit unū panem p diem.

Đ eisđ villañ $\ddagger$ igne ${ }^{7}$ stamine in Cur̃ đni Reg̃ .xxx. s̃.
It̃m de opac̃ in Autūpno de CCC hoĩb; quos.xv. villani de Maño inuenient. 't de iiij hõibz quos villani forinsec̃ de Cantređ inueniēt .Lxvj. s.ix. đ.

Iťm de . DC . hoĩb; 'Z equis ad ћcianđ $\ddagger$ unū diē Lxxv. s̀ . p diem j. đ. õ.

It̃m de pquis̃ Cur̃ . de Aberfraw .xl. š.
Đ pastur̃ .xx. s
Itm de dc̃is villañ de Aberfraw .x. cannoc̃ aueñ ad phbenđ .vj. ミ. .viij. đ.

s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ tol-xxxviij. lĩ.v. $\mathfrak{\text { s.x.x. }}$ đ. õ. $\mathrm{q}^{\text {a }}$.

## Extent of Anglesey, 1294.

## Extenta de Cantređ de Aberfrau.

Apr. A a.

Itum de eisđ vilt .xl. cânnoc̃ farīe aueñ $\mathfrak{p}$. iiij. lĩ.
Itm .x. cannoc̃ frii $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$.xx. s.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$.xiij. lĩ .v. s .
Đ vilt de Trefoweyn de redđ. liڤe tenenc̃ .xxxiij. s̃ .xj. đ. õ.
s̃s Smannexxiij. $^{\mathrm{s}} . \mathrm{xj} . đ$. õ.
$円$ vilt de Kelemoke de redđ ass̃ lỉe teñ .xvj. s. de villa de Bodelowe. de redđ ass̃ li$\ddagger$ e teñ .ij. s s .vj. đ.

Đ vilł de Thwayn de redđ asŝ̃ liŁe tenent̃ .xxxvij. s.
Ifrm de eađ vilt de teñ Map̃ Ađ Goch xl s̃.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ —iiij. lĩ .xv. s̃ .vj. đ.
Đ vilt de Drianuylcћ ' Trefichod de redđ ass liboç hõum .Liiij. s̈ .ix. đ.
s̃s $\quad S^{a}$.Liiij. ${ }^{\text {s.ix. }} \mathrm{d}$.
Đ . vilł de Bodarchewrau de redđ ass̃ liŁe teñ .v. s̃.
It̃m de iij $c^{\text {a }}$ nnoc̃ ${ }^{\text {'t }}$ dĩ far̃ aueñ .vij. s̃.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.xij. s.
Đ vilt de Crucanel de redđ ass̃ liظe teñ .vij. s̃ .xj. đ. I de .iij. cannoc̃ far̃ .vj. s̃.
§s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{2}$. xiij. s̃ .xj. đ.
Đ vilł de ${ }^{1}$ Grifffry de redđ ass̃ lite teñ .x. s̃.
If̃ de vilt de Bochornach de redđ as̃̃ liڤe teñ .xxiij. s .v. đ. õ.

Đ vilt filioz Meurike de redđ villanoz .xix. s̃ .iiij. đ. õ t Iacent in vasto .iij. bouat terr̃.

It de fr̃o uni ${ }^{9} c^{\text {a }}$ nnoc̃ dimiđ $\mathfrak{t}$ j. buselt $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ iiij. s̃ .iiij. đ. õ.
It̃ iiijor. cannoc̃ far̃ aueñ $\widehat{p}$ č viij. s̃.
It̃m de potur̃ .Dxx. hoĩm $p$ unū diè .xliij. s̃ .iiij. đ . viḑ p hoĩe $p$ unū diē .j. đ.

[^169]Extent of Anglesey, 1294.

## x

Itm de iiij equis $\mathfrak{q}$ ralent .x. § . vid; p equo .j. đ. o o.

APP. A a
A.D.

De qalib; domo una gallina de $\widehat{p} \widetilde{c} \cdot j$ đ $\neq$ val; $i x$. đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$. vj. lĩ .xj. đ. õ.
$\boxplus$ vilt de Bodenaylwẏn de redđ villanoz .r. §.


Ĩ̛m in potur̃ .CCClx. hoîm $p$ unū diê $x x x$. ş.
It de potur̃ .Cxx. eq's. .xr. s.
It de $q^{\circ}$ l; villano j. porc̃ de $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$.xx. đ.

ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$.Lxvj. s. .x. d.

ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.x. s .x. d.
Đ vilt de [Thledwygant]hles de redđ ass litoç hoïm .xxiiij. s .ix. đ.

Đ.j. cannoc̃ far̃ aũe ij. s.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{s}}$.xxvj. $\mathrm{s} . \mathrm{ix}$. d.
$\boxplus$ vilt de [Bodbetiryn] de[redđ as³] litoç hoïm .xxj. 亏 .iij. đ.

Sm². xxj § .iij đ.
$Ð$ vilt de [Trefdrefvastrondeon] de redđ ass̃ lite teñ Lxiij. sั.
 .iij. đ.

It de d[uobj lageñ butiř] $x$. đ.
sis $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$.Lxxiij. s.ij. đ.
Đ vilt de Trefdrefdysteyn de redđ as₹ iiij lt xvj. s.x. đ.
 xij [ferri] equoz vi s vj. đ.
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$.C .iij. 5 .iiij. đ. õ. $q^{2}$.
$\pm$ vilł de Badaon ${ }^{1}$ de redd ass̃ .xxij. ${ }^{\text {s. iiij. đ. }}$

App. A a. $\quad$ ss $S^{a}$. xxij s. iiij đ.
A.D. 1294.

Đ vilł de Dorodeweyt de redđ ass̃. viij s̃ viij đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. viij $\mathfrak{s i}$ viij đ.
Đ vilt de Trefwalkemay de redđ ass̃ .xviij. s̃ .ij. đ. de duobz $\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{a}}$ nnoc̃ far̃ aũe ${ }^{\text {T }} \mathrm{ij}$. ptibz uni ${ }^{9} \mathrm{c}^{\text {ă }}$ nnoc̃ $\nabla$. s .iiij. đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. xxiij ${ }^{\text {s }}$ vj. đ.
Đ vilt de [Trygor] de redđ ass̃ .xij. s̃ .iiij. đ.
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$. xij. ${ }^{\text {s. .iij. }}$ đ.
Đ vilt de [Dryndrovelt] de redđ ass̃ [xxxviij s̃ . iiij đ ob].
[ $\boxplus$ iiij] cannoc̃ fr̃i .x. š.
Đ [vij] cannoc̃ far̃ aueñ xiiij s̃.
Đ iij vas̃ [but]ur̃ . [xij s̃ de eađm vilt cum duobz villanis de Trefdraes de potuŕ].

De potur̃ .Lxxij. eq̃ [ix s̃ . De] potur̃ CCxl. hoĩm 't caniū xx. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { sss } & \mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}\end{array}\right]$.Ciij. s̃ .iiij. đ õ.
Đ vilt de Rosm[awr de Redđ as̃ .xx. s̃].
Đ potur̃ [1]j eq̃ .xviij. š .x. đ . õ.
Đ potur̃ [de .D. hoĩm] p unū diē .L. §.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ iiij lĩ viij $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{x}}$ đ õ.
$\boxplus$ vilt de [Keuentrefraw] de redđ ass̃ iij s̃ iiij đ. de $x \mathrm{x}$
potur̃. iiij equog $x$ s̃. de potur̃ . CCxl hoĩm 't caniū xx. s̃.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{a}$.xxxiij. s̈ iiij. đ.
Đ omibz villañ de dc̃a Cantreda de vj cannoc̃ fr̃i. xv ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
Đ .xix. $c^{\text {a }} n n o \tilde{c}$ far̃ aueñ $\operatorname{xxxviij}$. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
Đ viij cannoc̃ aueñ ad p屯 .v. s̃ .iiij. đ.
De xxvij galliñ .ij. s .iij. đ.
Đ quolz unū porcū si huerint de pocio .xx. đ.
If $q^{i} l z$ eoz debet arrare semel in annū $\tilde{q}$ valy. xxiiij $\boldsymbol{\text { s }}$ viij đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$. iiij. lĩ.vj. s .xj. đ.
Đ placit 't pquis Cantrede de Aberfraw .xl. s̃.
s̃ $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.xl. รั。
 õ. ${ }^{\text {q. }}$.

Extenta Man ii de Kemmeys.
Primo dicūt q̃d sūt in Mañio de Kemmeys .iiijor. carucat̃ terr̃ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ caruc̃.$x x x$. s̃ p annū.
sis $\quad S^{2}$ vj. lĩ.

De gardino ibid .xl. đ.
$\boxplus t^{i} b z$. Molend. iiij crannoc̃ farine aueñ riij. lî phc̃ crannoc̃ ij. s.

De piscar̃ ibiđ .iij. s̃ . iiij đ,
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{3}$.ix. lĩ.vj. s. viij. đ.
Đ redđ ass lite teñ ville de Kemmeys .Crj. s.xj. đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.Crj. s .xj. đ.
 .xiiij ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
s̃s $S m^{\text {a }}$ xiij lĩ xiiij ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
Đ placit $\mathfrak{t}$ pquis̃ Cur .xl ร.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }} \mathrm{xl}$. ร.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ tot Mañii de Kemmeys .xxxvj. Ii .rij. s.rij. đ. $\mathrm{p}^{\text {b }}$.

## Extenta Cōmot̃ de Talboleon.

$\ddagger$ redđ ass̃ vilł de Tref nedeuent de liŁo teñ xxxvij. ก̃. đ
sis $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xxxxij. $\tilde{\mathrm{s}} . \mathrm{ij}$. đ.
Đ vilf de Thlanvugel Thledwyghan ${ }^{1}$ de redđ a ̃.$x j$. §̃.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{s}}$.xj. s̃.
Đ vilt de Threfchlawrch. de redđ ass lito o̧ teñ. ei¿đ ville xlviij. s̃.
ss $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{2}$. xlviij. s.
Đ vilł de Codanewe de redđ ass̃ vij. ミ̊ rij. đ. õ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{3}$. vij. š vij. đ̄. ô.

App.A a. $\quad$ Đ vilf de Bodaoke de redđ ass̃ .xj. n.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \cdot \mathrm{xj}$. ธั.
$\boxplus$ vilł de Carnethour̃ de villanis eiđ de Tunke xiiij si iiij đ.
De eisđ̉m villañ $p$ potur̃ ' cons̃ Lxij s̃ v. đ.
De terra Yarward fit Maddocy viij s̃ iij. đ.
$Ð$ terris vastis ei ${ }^{\text {® }}$ ville xj. s̃.
̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$.iiij. lĩ .xvj. s̃.
Đ redđ ass̃ . ville de Trefwadoke .xlix. s̃ .viij. đ.
§̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.xlix. $\mathrm{s}^{2}$.viij. đ.
Đ redđ ass̃ liЂǒ vilt de Kemelyn .xix. s. .xj. đ.
De villañ ei ${ }^{9}$ đ ville $p$ potur̃ ${ }^{\text {'t }}$ aliis ŝuic̃ .xxxiij. s. viij. đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.Liij. š .vij đ.
Đ vilì de Kardekande de redđ ass̃ litọ̄ hoĩm Lxxvj. s̃.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.Lxxvj. s.
Đ vilt de Thlegarn de redđ ass libog hoĩm Lix s̃.v. đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.Lix. s. .v. đ.
$\boxplus$ vilł de Bronewey ' Conternowe de redđass̃. lito̧̧ hoĩm .xxix. s̃ .xj. đ.
sis $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xxix ${ }^{\mathrm{s}} \mathrm{xj}$. đ.
$\mp$ villa de Aberhalowe de redđ ass̃ liЂo ̧ hoĩm v. s̃.
De villanis ei ${ }^{\text {d }}$ ville de Tunge .xvij. si vj. đ.
de eisđm villanis $\ddagger$ potur̃ 't aliis şuic̃ .xxiij. s̃ .v. đ.
de $\operatorname{Pra}$ Ađ Ruffy dĩ m̃.
Đ Pra Map Porth vj. s̃.
de tra Hona fit Keñ .v
de tra sui garcilis ij. $\tilde{\mathrm{s}}^{\text {.v. }}$ đ.
s̃ $\quad$ Sm $^{\mathrm{a}}$. Lxvj. s.
$\boxplus$ vilt de Bodewygan de redđ ass̃ .xiij đ.
sis $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. xiij đ.
 iiij. lĩ .xvij. s̃ . ob.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ iiij l: xvij $\mathrm{s}^{\text {ot. }}$.
† vilt de Carnethur de Tung .v. s̃ . de potur̃' $\mathfrak{t}$ aliis cons̃ .xj. s.iiij. đ.


Apr. A a cons .viij s iiij đ.
s̃ $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{s}} . \mathrm{x}$ ร.

s̃ $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$. $\mathrm{x}^{\mathrm{s}}$.
$\ddagger$ vilt de Boderonyn de redđ' 't cons̃ villano̧̧ xxvj. s̃ .vj. đ.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ xxvj st vj đ.
$\boxplus$ vilł de Meriogan de cons̃ villano̧̧ .xxiiij s̃.
ss $S^{\mathbf{a}}$ xxiiij ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
Đ vilt de Trefnegoch de redđ potur̃' $\mathfrak{t}$ cons̃ villano̧̧ xxiiij s̃ ix đõ $q^{\text {a }}$.

Đ ptex̃ionibs eiusđm Commoti viij s̃ j đ.
\%s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ viij s j đ.
Đ pquis eiđ Commoti xl. s.
§s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xl. รั.

Extenta Manii de Penros.

Iťm de eođ $p$ p̂sentacõm iuratǫ̧ . xxiij si xj đ. .... error
vj. 1 II
Đ đnico. iiijor carucat̃ terr̃ ' vał caruc̃ .xxz. š.
. . extenta...
a...e...

Itm de thbs Molenđ iiij. lĩ .vj. s.viij. đ. de potur̃ CC .x. original
hoĩm . CCCC $\cdot \mathrm{ij} \cdot \mathrm{eq}^{\circ}$ ₹ $\cdot \operatorname{Cix}$ s̃ õ $q^{a}$.
de reda blađ iiij lí xiiij s j j. đ.
It de M\} yonnith lactis cuis ${ }^{\text {d }}$ Rustici viij. $\tilde{s}$.ix. d.
Đ redđ butir̃ xj. s̃ .vij. đ.
Đ blado ad p̂benđ Palefriđ đni ij s.
D angñ. $\mathfrak{Z}$ gallinis vj s̃ viij đ.
Đ redd ferr̃ fabr̃ . iij

A．D． 1294.

Opa ${ }^{7}$ cons vilt de
Penros．

App．A a．de ouis $t$ butir vj đ．
De cariağ turbaz $t$ trbis $x$ ．
円 liter̃ dĩ mã．
s̈s $\quad \operatorname{Sm}^{a}$ ．xxvij lĩ xiiij đ．õ $\cdot q^{a}$ ．
Đ villañ ．eiusđ̉m $\ddagger$ ŝuicio in Autūpno．Sç $\mathbf{p}$ ．iij．Mens̃ ． singłm．Mens̃ ．p viij dies．s．sing̃lo．dieद̧ p xxxvj hoïes． q̃d ŝuic̃ valet $p$ diē singulo j．đ．õ－C．viij $\tilde{s}$ ．De xiij． Cotelt p opibz xiij hoïm piij dies in autūpno q̃d suic̃ valet iiij $\tilde{s}^{x}$ đ õ．de opibz．xx．equoz̧ sine garcioñ ad ћcianđ tēpe yemali ．$p$ unū diē $\mathfrak{q} d$ valet $x x$ ．đ．De opibz ．vj．equō̆ xx

$$
+
$$ v．garc̃ ad ћcianđ̛ tēpe $q^{\text {ad }}$ drag̃ ．$p$ unū diē q̃d valet xl．s̃．

$\boxplus$ opib；．xviij gauelo̧̧ quo̧ quilz debz Ћciar̃ p ．iij．Mens̃ ．
 x ．
$\boxplus$ eisđm de opibz exth henciū fimū $c \bar{u} x x$ ．equis＇$t$ garcõem $p$ unū diè ．xl．đ．
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$－xxj．lĩ．vij．s̃ ．x．đ．oち．
$S^{a}$ Mañii de Penros ．xlviij．lĩ ．ix．s̃ ．j．đ．$q^{2}$ ．
［On a small parchment schedule sewed on to the Roll the following appears．］

Videtr ${ }^{\mathrm{q}}$ d sit error in extenta Manerii de Penros in ptičlis šbscip $\tilde{t}$ ．Vidett ：＇de redđ eiusđ̉m Mañii ．Potura hoĩm ${ }^{\prime}$ eq ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}$ ．Et redđ bladi．que iđo sunt cruce signati in extenta．

Sma ．xiiij．lĩ．v．s̃ ．iiij．đ．oち $q^{a}$ ．Qui resp ${ }^{\text {ctuant }}{ }^{r}$ p errore usq，sup comp̃ Cañarii ．corā consilio Pinẽ p peticõnem villanoz̧ de Penros ad pliamentū tmīo sc̃i Hillarii．Anno Regni Reg̃ Edwardi Tricesimo tercio．

$$
\text { Commot }{ }^{9} \text { de Turkelyn. }
$$

Đ redđ as̃ ville de Henescot vj．s̀ ．viij．đ．
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ ．vj．sั ．viij．đ．

Slagoruc ${ }^{1}$ ' Sleckou cū ptiñ de redđ̃ as̃̄ j mã.
Đ potur̃ eǫ̧đ xxij š iiij đ.
Đ tra G ${ }^{\prime}$ )uasii fit Płi que nūc est in manu Reg xxiij s̃

App. Aa.

## đ.


Sistulas cū ptiñ de villa p̂dẽa cū villis $\mathrm{s}^{1}$ respondentib; iij $\mathrm{lĩ}$ vij s̃ vj. đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$. viij lĩ vij s̃ rj. đ.
Đ böibz de Curchlayt Manentibz s̃r teñ de Sistulas. ${ }^{p}$ otur̃ . Lxviij hoĩm . Lxviij canū ' iiijor eq̃ xj. s̃ .x đ.

Đ redđ ass̃ ville de Reccow. xlriij s viij đ.
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathbf{2}}$. xlviij s̃ viij đ.
Bodaneu 'Z Bodenawyn cū ptiñ de eisđ de redđ ass̃ rj. Iĩ xvij s iiij đ.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{3}$.vj. lī .xvij š iiij đ.
 q̃ $p$ unū diē ${ }^{\text {did vał }}$ xl š vij đ õ.

Đ opib; $\mathbf{p}$ tres dies in Autumpno sinğlo die $p$ xrj hoĩes id rat xrj. š . sing̃lo p̂c̃ p diē j. đ õ.
de Lx. galt t iiijor angnis eoz̧đ v. s̃ .vj. đ.
Đ M’ionith eiđ cū rilt adiac̃ . s. Rosmanach Bodeueney t Derý iiij lĩ vij s̃ j đ.õ.

It de eisđ̉ p aûagiis. xj š iiij đ.
క̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{3}-\mathrm{vij}$ lĩ xiiij ŝ rij đ.
Đ redđ ass̃ teñ ei${ }^{\text {d }} \mathrm{x}$ ธ .
Bode
Đ opib; xv hoĩm in eađ villa ad metenđ $p$ unū diē $\mathfrak{q} d$ vat

Codanou z Both-
unoke. sxij. đ̈. of.

It de xv. galf 't uno angno .xvj. đ.
Ĩ de $t^{i} b$ crannoc̃ frí de redđ vij s vj đ.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ xx ${ }^{\text {s. }} \mathrm{ix}$ d õ.

Extent of Anglesey, 1294.
Apr.A a. Đ redđ eidm . iij s̃ iiij đ. de opib; xxvij hoïm ad metenđ
A.D. 1294.

Rosmangћ.

Derý. De opibz .xxiiij. hoĩm ad metenđ pj. diem. iij s.
It̃. de xxiiij galt 't angñ 't dĩ ij š iij đ de iiijor villanis supa$^{\text {adčis }}$. s . Boteynoke Bodeueneu Rosmangћ 't Derý . £ potur̃ CCCC . hoĩm .CC. canū .CC. eq̃ p unū diē .Lxxxv. š.
s̃s Sma $^{\text {a }}$.iiij. lĩ .iij. đ.
Bode-
wryt. p unū diem. iij š iiij đ oも.

Itm de xxvij galt $\mathfrak{Z}$ uno angñ de redả $\mathrm{ij} \mathfrak{s} v$ đ.

§s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ xj $\begin{gathered}\text { s vij đ õ. }\end{gathered}$

Đ redđ ij š vj. đ.
Iťm p potur̃ . xlix hoĩm . xlviij canū 't iij eq̃ p unū diem viij $\mathfrak{~ ร ั ~} \mathrm{v}$ đ õ.

It de uno cannoc̃ far aueñ .ij. s.
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$. xij s̃ xj. đ õ.
Slorat-
Đ redđ ei${ }^{\text {d dĩ }}$ m.
henryet.

Nanmaur̃ Sudon
Vach ${ }^{a}$ n p Regē.

Troscloyndysteynet de redđ dĩ m̃.
$\boxplus$ Bedelt tot̃ cōmõ de redđ ij s̃ vj đ̂.

It $p$ viij $c^{a} n n o c ̃$ ' t tcia pte $j$. cannoc̃ far̃ aueñ xvj s̃ viij đ̂.
Đ aduocaĩ v. s x đ.
Đ batelt de portu de Dulas .xx. đ.
s̃ $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xlv. s.


It̃ de xxviij $\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{a}}$ nnoc̃ dimiđđ iij buss̃ farñ auē. Liij s̃ vj đ.
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.vj. lï .xij. s̃ .v. đ.
©̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ to ${ }^{\sharp}$ hui ${ }^{9}$ Cōmot̃ , xliiij lï ix s̃.j. đ. õ.

## Extent of Anglesey, 1294.

Extenta Cōmot̃ de Mene.
Primo Rẽndunt ${ }^{1}$ de đnico $£ p^{1} \mathrm{o}$ Reg̃ ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ d sunt in Mañio de Rofeyr. .x. car̃ terr̃ de $q^{1} b$; . vj caruc̃ sūt de đnico ' $\mathfrak{i i i j o r}$ de excaet̃ 't vat . quelz, caruc̃ .xxx. s.
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \cdot \mathrm{xv}$ lĩ.
It̃m de Gardino đni Reg̃ . iij š.
İ̃ de iijbz. $\mathrm{p}^{\text {atis }} \mathrm{v}$. รั.
It de pastur̃. xx s.
It de $t^{\text {ib }}$; Molenđ que Rẽndunt ${ }^{1}$ de iiij $\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{xx}}$ nnoc̃ far $\mathfrak{Z}$ rat


It de firmar̃ 'z villanis de redđ ass̃ xxx s̃ xj. đ.

Concesse

It̃ de Albo 't M' ${ }^{\text {' }}$ ionith rj s̃ iij đ.
It̃ de eođ vj $c^{a} n n o c ̃ ~ f r ̃ i ~ Z ~ v a t ~ x v . ~ s . ~ . ~$
It de eot iij $c^{a} n n o c ̃ ~ f a r ̃ ~ o r d e i ~ ' t ~ v a l ~ i i i j ~ s . ~$.
 iiij đ.

It de xij villañ $\tilde{q}$ tenēt xij gauelt una teñ $\mathfrak{t}$ rendunt ${ }^{1}$ xij $c^{2}$ nnoc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ dĩ far̃ aueñ 't val . xvj s̃ viij đ.

It de Fabris iiijor cannoc̃ far̃ ordei val .v. š iiij đ.
It de eisđ̃ villañ iij caannoc̃ aueñ . ad p̂t . palefr̃ Reg̃ xij đ. ค̂c̃ cannoc̃ iiij đ.

It de Liiijor galt de quib; sviij falcoñ t vat. iiij s rj đ p $\mathfrak{p}$ galt j đ.

It̃ de exeuñ villanǫ̧. iij s iiij đ.
It phdc̃i villani debēt inuenir̃ . CC .xl. eq ${ }^{\circ}$ s cū tot hõiby


It debēt Mele cū CCCC . hõib; $p$ unū diē $\mathfrak{Z}$ nat oñ . xxxiij š iiij đ. Vidz quilz $p$ diē .j. đ.

It̃ det cariar̃. blađ cū Lxxij hõib; 't Lxxij eqis $p$ unū diè 't vat. ix s̃ vid; p hoĩe. ot. 'Z equo $j$ đं.

It̃m debnt extare fimū cū xiiij eq's 't vał oñ . xiiij đ.
If det inuenir̃ đno Ignem vel xx §.

Apr．A a．$\quad I \tilde{t}$ de stamine $x$ ．

A．D． 1294.

Porthamal Geythrem ${ }^{1}$

Sode－ wyndrū．

Srefarthen Igaerwen． Ran－ dygadou．
Kaeruan．
Ternocet．
Trefolwyn
Grukdowy
Myssoglen

Ĩ̃ de eisđ̈m de quolz．たnte płes agnos $q^{a}$ ．v．dabunt unü． ＇vat iij s̃ iiij đ．

Iťm de p̂dc̃is villañ de quolz そente galliñ ．xx．oua ．xx．đ． Itm de pritis＇t pquiš Cur̃ xl．s̃．
s̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \cdot \mathrm{xx} \mathrm{li} \mathrm{in} . \mathrm{vj} . đ$ ．
§̃s $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ to ${ }^{\ddagger}$ istius Maniii ．xxxv．lĩ．vj đ．
Đ eađ vilł de redđ ass̃ ．iiij lĩ ．xviij š iij đ qa．

Đ eađ vilł de redđ asš Lxix s vj đ õ．
s̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ Lxix s̃ vj đ õ．
De eađ vilf de redđ ass̃ xxvij s̃ viij đ．
De eađ vilł de redđ ass̃．xij s̃ viij đ．
De eađ vilt de redđ ass̃ ．vij s iiij đ．
De eađ vilt de redđ ass ．xj．s．
De eađ vill de redđ ass̃．xxiij s̃ iij đ õ．
De eađ vilł de redđ ass̃．vj s̃ v đ．
De eađ vilt de redđ ass̃ ．xxiiij s̃ iiij đ．
De［firmar̃］ei ${ }^{9}$ đ vilł iiij s̃ vj đ．
It̃ de potur̃ Clxxij ．hoĩm Lvij equoz̧ p unū diē ab eisđ̛ firmar̃ xxj s̃ v đ oも．Vidz p hoĩe j đ t p equo $j$ đ õ．

Sm $^{2}$ xxv．s̃ xj．đõ．
Boteuryda
Đ redđ ass ．x．đ．
It̃ de eađ vilt ．viij．galliñ viij đ．
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ viij đ．
Denan．$\quad$ eađt vilt $p$ potura ．CCC．xxix hoĩm＇t C．ix eq̃ xlj s̃ ob．
It̃ de eađ villa xiiij galt＇t vał xiiij ร．
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xlij s̃ ij đ õ．
Heyrdes－ weyth．

Đ eađ vilt p potur̃ de CLiiij hoĩm ．CC．xviij．eq̃ ．iiij lĩ xx $\begin{gathered}\text { 。 }\end{gathered}$

Đ eađ vilt xxx．galt＇t vat xxx．đ．
It $p$ arratur̃ ei ${ }^{9}$ đ vilł $q$ ，multū remota a Cur̃ ij s̃ vj đ．

## Extent of Anglesey, 1294.

It pq aûag̃ istius ville cū vilt p̣cedente iij šiiij đ.
APP. A a.
Sm ${ }^{\text {a }}$ iiij $1 \tilde{1}$ x .
De redd ass̃ eisđ ville iij s iiij đ.
It p potura. CClxxvij hoinm $\not \subset$ canū xxiij s j d.
$S m^{*}$. Xxvj s $\nabla$ d.
Đ redđ ass eiqđ viij รี vj d.
It p potur̃ de $D$ ' $\mathfrak{i i i j}$ hoĩm $\neq C$. Ixriij eq̃. Lxiij s̃.
It de xiiij gallin xiiij đ.
Itm de istis vj. vilt p M\}ionith xiij siiij d.
Ĩ̃ de teñ de Skyraioke de reda ass̃ . vij d.
It .ij. $c^{a} n n o \tilde{c} f \tilde{r} i$. ij $c^{a} n n o \tilde{c} f a \tilde{r}$ aueñ ij $c^{a} n n o c ̃ ~ f a \tilde{r}$ ordei $\mathfrak{t}$ vat xj. ะ viij đ.

It̃ de terra Mads̃ ab Ađ de redđ vj. đ.
Sm². iiij lĩ xviij $s$ ix đ.
Đ eađ villa de redđ ass .xl. క̃ viij đ.
円 tib; hõibz eisd ville de redđ ass̃ . ij $\mathfrak{s}$ vj d.
D eađ vilt vj $c^{a} n n o \tilde{c}$ frii . T vat $x v$. ${ }^{\sim}$.
It xij cannoc̃ bras̃ aueñ .xij. § . $\widehat{\mathbf{p}} \tilde{c} c^{2} n n o \tilde{c}$ xij đ.
It de uno Mens̃ butir $\tilde{q}$ valet iij $\underset{\text { s }}{ } \mathrm{iij}$ d.
It .ij. cannoc̃ far̃ ordei $\tilde{q}$ vat ij s viij $\ddagger$.
It .ij $c^{2} n n o \tilde{c}$ aueñ xvj. đ.
It .ij. Multoñ 7 vai xvj. đ.
It xvj galt $x v j$ đ.
It de exheuñ tam de butir $q^{a}$ ouis xyj đ.
 buss far ordei 't vai iiij d.

It p pte dc̃i $\ddagger$ d. exheuñ iij $\ddagger$.
It de eođ de M"ionnith ij. d.
İ de quol; hente płes agnos $q^{a}$. $\nabla$. unū agnū $Z$ estimantr ${ }^{r}$ xx agni de quib; . iij s iiij $đ$.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. xliij ธ. $^{\text {. }}$
Đ ead vilt de froo. iiijor $c^{2} n n o \tilde{c} \nsucceq i j$ buss̃ $\cdot x j . \widetilde{s} \cdot x$ đ õ.
Tregarwet

## Extent of Anglesey, 1294.


A.D.
1294.
vas̃ butir̃ ${ }^{7}$ vat ${ }^{\mathrm{ij}}$ s̃ vj đ õ $\mathrm{q}^{\text {a }}$.
It de Multoñ xij đ õ $q^{a}$.
It̃m de exheuñ ei ${ }^{\ominus}$ đ ville xvj. đ.
It de aûa $\tilde{g}$ istius vilt $\mathfrak{t}$ phedent xx đ.
It̃ de quolз hente ptes agnos $q^{a} \cdot$.v. unū agnū de quibz $\operatorname{iij}$ s̃ iiij đ.

It̃ de M’ionnith duaz dčą vilt .iij. cannoc̃ fr̃i . iiijor $c^{a} n n o c ̃ ~ f a \tilde{r}$ ordei iiijor crannoc̃ far̃ aueñ 't valent xxiij s̃ iiij đ.

It̃m de Albo vj s̃ viij đ.
It̃ de Lalwarchvoyl .v. s̃.
It̃ de eađ vilt j Crannoc̃ aueñ ad pht . 't valz viij đ.
It̃m de ptectionibs Re xix s̃ iiij đ.
It̃m de pquis Cur̃ xl. š.
$S m^{a}$.vj. lî .viij. s .iiij đ.

$T^{s} \mathrm{ra} \mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{p} i}$ in Cantrede.

Đ vilt de Bodeyhan de redđ ass̃ xiiij s̃ iiij đ.
s̃ $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$. xiiij š iiij đ.
$\boxplus$ vilt Ioћ Maphython de redđ ass̃ cons̃ 't aliis ŝuic̃ xxxix s̃ . ix đ õ.
§s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xxxix s. ix đ õ.
s̃s Sm $^{\text {a }}$ totat terr̃ $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{f}} \mathrm{i}$. Liiij s j. a ot.
De quibz allocantr vic̃ .L. s̃ . p cartā Reg q ${ }^{\text {amm }}$ Eãs ostendit.

De iiijor carucat ter $\tilde{r}$ in Manio de Cornuchles $\mathfrak{p}$ c̃ caruc̃ xxvj š viij đ.
«̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{a} \mathrm{Cvj}$ š viij đ.
Đ uno Molenđ fracto de quo $\mathrm{n}^{\ddagger}$. de pastra xx s̃. de redđ ass̃ libug teñ iiij lĩ. x s . viij đ. de villañ eiđ ville de redđ จ. s̃.

It $p$ potur̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ aliis cons̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ suicic . Liiij s iiij đ.
รั $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ viij lĩx x .

Tursemon $\tilde{y}$ est hamelett ${ }^{\ominus}$ ptinens ad Gerneweles cū App. Aa. hamelet̃ de Westdrewy de redđ asگ̆ istoç hamelet̃ Cxvj š ix đ. Is $\mathrm{Sm}^{2} \mathrm{C}$.xvj. s. .ix. đ.
$\boxplus$ T bonmayloke de Pra Abt. de redđ ass̃ 't aliis cons ไ şuic̃ . eisđ. $\mathrm{xxx} \mathrm{\%}$. รั.
§s $\mathrm{Sm}^{3}$. xxxp . s.

§̃ Sm $^{\text {a }}$ totat dẽe extente .CCCC iiij .iij. lï .x. s .xj. đ. $q^{3}$.
Terre contente in extenta collate diúsis hoïb; p Cartas Re. post confeccõem extente p̂dc̃e . De quib; vic̃ nō debet onari in comp suo sup contentis in eađm extenta. Vidett.

Đ villat de Bodeyhan ${ }^{7}$ Joћ Maphython que extenduntr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ ad. Liiij s j. đ . ot quas Ep̃s Bangor̃ tenet p cartā. Re . L. š impp̃m.

Đ Mañio de Cornathles cū Hamelet̃̃ de Tursemon ' Westdrewy $\mathfrak{Z}$ T’lonmayloke que Abbas $\mathcal{Z}$ cōuent ${ }^{9}$ de Conewey tenent $p$ cartam Re .xxj. lĩ .riij. s̃ .v. đ. imppet̃m. $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ to ${ }^{\boldsymbol{t}}$.xxiij lĩ xviij ${ }^{\text {on }} \mathrm{v}$ đ.
Đ villa de Nantmaur $q^{a} m$ Tuder̃ ${ }^{2} a^{a} h^{a} n$ tenet $p$ cartam Re ad tminū vite ipipi Tuderi' $\mathfrak{Z}$ Resi filii sui .rj. lĩ .xij s̃ r đ.
 decasu : ut p; in dorso ro ${ }^{\ddagger}$ cpot vic.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ xxiij. lĩ .xviij. s.r. đ. Qui detnt šbtahi de Sma tol extēte $q^{\circ} \mathrm{ad}$ vič.

Et eciam .xxiiij. $1 i$. $x$ s de ptit ${ }^{7}$ pquis que continentr in eađm extenta in diû sis cōmote $p$ eo $\tilde{q} d$ iđm ric̃ responđ iude
 ext ${ }^{2}$ extentam.*

* Et sic dj vic̃ oñar̃ de cōtente in ext̃ de clar̃ de . CCCC .
 't pquis subtahitur sicut tre collat̃ at supa. ${ }^{1}$

[^170]
## Extent of Anglesey, 1294.

APP. A a.
A.D. 1294.

Escaeta. Walt.

Escaete In Cantređ̉ de Ā̄frau temp̃ đni Edwardi Pincip
Wilts ap Daniel qui tenuit .xxx. acras Tre cū ptinenc̃

 Henr̃ de Dynintoñ tūc vic̃ seisiuit $\mathfrak{\imath r a ̄}$ phdc̃am in manū đni
 fc̃am p ip̃m vic̃. xl đ. Unde vic̃ eiusđm Com̃ debet respondere annuatī sup comp̃ suū ad $\mathrm{Sc}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{cm}$ ap Caerñ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.xl. đ.
Escaeta. Dauid ap Llewelin qui tenuit villam de Thlallybion cū ptiñ in Cantr̃ de Aberfrau ad voluntatē đni Reg̃ p liちac̃oem đni. I. de Haûingge post guerram Maddoci ap Lewelyn obiit mense Augusti Anno P ${ }^{\mathrm{j}}$ ncipat ${ }^{9}$. Ee. Pinnc̃ sc̃do. Post cui ${ }^{\ominus}$ mortē Wenthliana ux̃ eiusđm $Đ d$ ' $\mathfrak{t}$ Lewelin ${ }^{\ominus}$ filius eoz iniuste occupauerūt p̂dc̃am villā usq, mensem Septembr̃ anno
 Waltii de Wyntoñ vic̃ Angles̃ que debuit fuisse escaeta đni Pinc̃ post mortē dc̃i $Đ d$. Et hoc pcepto: Henr̃ de Dynigtoñ vic̃ qui recepit p̂dc̃am villam in manū $P^{\mathrm{i}} n \tilde{c} \tan ^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{m}$ escaetā suam. Et valet p d c̃a villa $p$ annū in õibz exitibz .vij. lĩ .xj. «̌ .iiij. đ. Unde vic̃ eiusđ Com̃ debet responđe annuatī sup comp̃ suū ad $\mathrm{Sc}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{cm}$ ap đ Caerñ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$.vij. lĩ .xj. s .iiij. đ.
Escaeta. Lewelin ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Voyl ap Griff ap Gogan qui tenuit villà de Kenleuyoke cū Hamelettis de [Keyru]' 't Kilgwyn ad 'ĩm vite sue de dono đni Ee. illustis Reg̃ Angt filio per Cartá
 cui ${ }^{\ominus}$ mortē Henr̃ de Dyninton tūc vic̃ seisiuit p̂dcãam villā cū Hamelettis in manū đni $P^{i} n c ̃ ~ t a n q \bar{a} ~ e s c a e t a ̄ . ~ E t ~ p ̂ d a c ̃ a ~ v i l l a ~ c u ̄ ~$ Hamelettis valet $p$ annū $p$ extentā fc̃am per ip̃m vic̃ .xij. lĩ .xviij. s. .xj. đ.

[^171]Extent of Anglesey, 1294.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ xij. lĩ .xviij. s̃ .xj. đđ. ${ }^{1}$
$\boxplus$ tra Ioz Duy ap Dauid in villa de Trebaddoke qui inlfecit Dauid prem suū Mense Maii a ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{i}}$ ncip̃ đni E. Piñ quarto que extenditr $p$ vic̃ ad tres soliđ. Unde vic̃ debet

App. A a.
A.D. 1294. Escaeta. responder̃ annuatī $\check{\text { sr }} \mathrm{g} \tilde{p}$.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathbf{2}}$. iij ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
Đ Candalo ap Thorñ ' Keñ ap Thomas de quodam annuo redditu aduocarie concelato $\mathfrak{t}$ recupato coram W. de de Suttoñ Instic̃ in anno Pincipat đni Ee Pinc̃ iiijo. unde

$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$.ij. § .vj. đ.
Đ Madđ Vaghan. de Rosmanake $\Phi$ quođ añuo redđ concelato $\mathfrak{Z}$ recupato coram phfato Iustic̃ in anno iiijoto p̂dc̃o ande vic̃ deb onari ' $\mathfrak{z}$ c-nvj. đ. ob.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2} \mathrm{xvj}$. đ. ot.
Đ xiiij bouatis Pre arrabil una domo. uno $\mathrm{p}^{3}$ to. una pte trbarie dẽo teñ spectante que fuer̃t. Madd ap Idewal in Pentrayth et que st in manu Pinc̃ $p$ excaetam . et que extenduntr ${ }^{r}$ p H. de Dynyntoñ vic̃ ad xvj. s̃ .iiij. đ in anno ' $\ddagger$ . ${ }^{\text {c }}$ q$^{\text {innto }}$. de quibs debēt šbtrai .v. š . pro redđ annuo eiusđ̉m teñ content in extenta Com. et det vic̃ onari in compoto :suo de xj. s̃ .iiij. đ. de residuo dc̃e extente una cū appwamēto.

Sm²-xj. š .iiij. đ.
$S^{3}$ to ${ }^{\ddagger}-x x j$. lĩ .xj. s. .ix. đ . ob.
${ }^{2}$ Hee sunt pcuracõnes $\mathfrak{t}$ suicia hïm Manerii de Penros in Cōmoto de Trket ubi inuenti funnt.xij. Gauelli cū dimiđ đ̃pe $q^{\circ}$ villa extentata fuit.

Et de dc̃a tra . gauellus soluebat . $\pi x^{\text {ti }} \cdot q^{i} n q$, hoĩes $p$ unū diem ad secanđ blada $p$ sex septimanas tupe autūpnali.

Et de qinz, aliis acris .vq. hoĩes $p$ unū diē ut sup².
If de omibz ilt Gauellis soluebant $q^{i}{ }^{i} q^{a}{ }^{\text {ginta }}$ eq ${ }^{\circ} S$ cū tot garcõib; ad carianđ blada eođ̉m t̃pe $p$ unū diem.

[^172][^173]Arp. Aa. It .lx. eq ${ }^{\circ}$ s $p$ unū diem ad hercianđ Tras Pincip cū tot A.D. garcõib; ז̃pe vinali. 1294.

It .x. eq ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{S}$ sine garcõibz ad fimand fras $\mathrm{c}^{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{ca}$ Pascha.
It̃.xx. eq ${ }^{\circ}$ s ad hercianđ fruñta ordea fabas et pisa ac siligines sine garcõibz $\mathfrak{t}$ hoc $p$ unū diem.

It̃ p pcracõe uni ${ }^{9}$ eq $q^{i}$ ī hyeme $\mathfrak{Z}$ vere unā çnocā Lewelini $q^{2}$ libj septimana cum straminibz $t$ victualibus p Garc̃one.

It̃ in autūpno victualia $£$ Garc̃one sine $e q^{\circ}$. î estate nich. vij
 hyemali. Et. $x x^{\text {ti }}$. melioribz eq ${ }^{i}$ s de illis $p$ sex ì die unam čnocā Lewelini 't õibz . viij. de illis aliis palefredis unam çnocā.

It in vere $£$ octuagita eq ${ }^{i}$ s $p$ curacõnes ut supra $£$ aliis.
It̃ in estatē $p . l \mathrm{l}$. valetis $\mathrm{pc}^{\mathrm{r}}$ acões sine $\mathrm{eq}^{\text {is }}{ }^{\text {' }} \mathfrak{Z}$ totidee in autūpno.

It $p$ igne ad $o p^{9}$ đni $P^{i} n c i \tilde{p}$ de glebario suo soluebant $p$ tres vices ì aduētu ipi ${ }^{9}$ videlicz autūpno Hyeme $\mathfrak{t}$ ve $£$ un $^{a} q$ vice cētū $t^{a}$ ssas de glebis $\mathfrak{Z}$ tūc isti hoĩes habebant unū glebariū libe 't iāduđ exa ${ }^{\text {a ctū est ab eis ilłd. }}$
 opus bettoz.

It̃ de unoq ${ }^{\text {c }}$ gauello .xiiij. đ $p$ annū.
It̃ de õibz gauellis .xv. galones butiri $p$ annū.
It extra gauellos s̃t .rj. acre ' $\ddagger q q^{\text {allibz }}$ illą̧ solũnt $p$ annū .xij. đ.

It de õibz gauellis .xxviij. galias.
It í eađm villa s̃t .vj. gauelli de $q^{i} b z$ dins hatet reddit ${ }^{9}$ $p^{c}$ unarios cū frum̃to . videlicz de Gauello Bledyn Grachais.

It̃ de Gauello Ade ap Madauc .vij. sot .viij. đ.
It de dimiđ gauelli Madoci Capellani .xl. d.
It de gauello Philip Sayr .vij. solid.
It de tra Gemllin Portarii .ij. s .vj. đ.
If de gauello fab ${ }^{\circ}$ द $v j$. čnocas fruñiti de $c^{a}$ noca Lewelini.

## Extent of Anglesey, 1294.

It̃ de Gauello Philippi Capellani .iij. çnoc̃ cū dimiđa de App. Aa. eađ ñsura.

It̃ de eod .xxti. d .rj. galones butiri . duos . agnos .lx. oua
A.D. 1294. ' hoc pānū.

It de dimid gauelli Adam ap Byndelw .v. š .iij. đ.
It côitas toti ${ }^{9}$ ville soluet $p$ annū . xxx chnocas de čnocis Lewelini ad plus. videlicet fciā pté fruñti ' aliam tciā farine auenat 't fciā ptē fariñ ordeacee 't aliqando dũs façet eis


IĨ p maronia lactis pace ville i estate 't autūpno dimid toti ${ }^{9}$ lactis dicioris höis de villa $\mathfrak{Z}$ ilłd aliq ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ndo ẽet fruct .iiij. vaccą̧ ${ }^{7}$ aliqando duą ille vacce is festo oĩm sc̃og redirēt ad suū possessoré.

## APPENDIX Ab．

SHERIFF＇S ACCOUNT OF ABERFFRAW AND PENROS， 30 EDW．I．，A．D． 1302.

## Chapter House Miscellanea $\frac{66}{3}$ ，Public Record Office．${ }^{1}$

Apr．Ab．Compot ${ }^{9}$ Walteri de Wyntoñ Vic̃ Angles̃ a festo sancti A．D．Michis anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo nono usq festum 1302．sc̃i Mictis anno regni Regis predc̃i $t^{i}$ cesimo．

Aber－ frau．

Đniç．

Tur－ kelyn．
Portar．
s̃s Maneriū de Aberfrau．
Idem respondet de fir ${ }^{\text {a }}$ đnico̧̧ eiusđm Maner̃ Corsodelen $\mathfrak{Z}$ Tefcastel p anñ vij．lĩ ．x．s̃
Đ redđ ass̃ liظe tenc̃ eiusdem Maner̃ p idem temp ${ }^{9}$
xxxij．š x．đ．
Đ redđ ass̃ villano̧ M「〕dredi eiusdem Maner̃ －p idem temp ${ }^{9}$ xx．lĩ．iij．s̃．õq $q^{\text {a }}$ ．
Molenđ．Đ fir ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ ．iij．Molendio̧ ibidem $p$ idem temp ${ }^{ }$viij．lĩ．
Đ fir ${ }^{2}$ Portar̃ eiusdem Maner̃ $p$ idem temp ${ }^{9}$ xiij．s ．iiij．đ $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ totał dči Maner̃ ．xxxvij．lĩ ．xix．s ij ．đ ．õ ．$q^{3}$ ．

Idem respondet de redđ villanoz $\mathrm{M}^{\prime}$ 〕dredi de
Penros ．per añ̃ ．
xvj．lĩ ．xxiij．đ．
Đ fir ${ }^{2}$ ．iiij．Carucã̃ terr̃ đnico弓 eiusdem
Maner̃ p idem temp ${ }^{\text { }}$ ．．．．C．s．
Đ fir ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ ．iij．Molendioz eiusdem Maner̃ p idem
temp ${ }^{9}$
．x．lĩ．
Đ fir ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Portar̃ eiusdem Maner̃ ．per idem
temp ${ }^{9}$ ． xiij．${ }^{\text {s iiij．}}$ ． d ．
$\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ totat istius Maner̃ ．xxxj．lĩ ．xv．${ }^{\text {s．ing．}} \mathrm{i}$ ．

[^174]
## APPENDIX Ac.

## PETITION OF THE VILLANI OF PENROS AND INQUISITIONS AS TO THEIR CUSTOMS AND SERVICES, 16 EDW. II., A.D. 1322.

> Inquisition Ad Quod Damnum, 16 Etu. II., No. 40 , Public Record Office.

A ñre seign' le Roi't a son counseil monstrent ses poures vileins de son Maner de Penros en le Countee Dangleseye en Northgales $\tilde{q}$ come eaux par errou del estente du dit Maner soient nounduement chargez $p$ an de .xxj. lì.vj. đ. ultre leur due rente ' $t$ acostumee auxi come de rente assese des queux deñs unq̃s le dit seign ${ }^{r}$ ne nul seign ${ }^{r}$ de celes pties auaunt le conqueste ne peus nestoit ne ne deuoit $p$ resoun estre suy, $\mathfrak{Z}$ mesmes ceaux vileins a leur peticioun nadguers $s^{r}$ ceo baille en plement $p$ auisement ñre dit seign ${ }^{r}$ ' son counseil eussent briefe de la Chauncelerie a mons Esmon Counte Darundel Iustice de Gales a enquerre de cel errour : ' ' li 'z son dit
 dite Iustice diligente enqueste en forme de lei $\mathfrak{z}$ ret ${ }^{r}$ ne duement en la dite Chauncelerie p la quele piert pleinement qil sunt de les ditz deñs $p$ an chargez countre resoun : eaux $p$ enchesoun de la morrẏne le leur bestes $\mathfrak{z}$ de leur aler nadguers peus la prise de cele enqueste en .e sैuiz ñre dit Seign ${ }^{r}$ countre ses enemỳs ' $t$ rebeaux en diuers liens ount taunt este empoueriz qil ne ount mỳe este de pnair de trouer les coustages a seure $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{r}}$ ceo remedie, dount le Chaumbrelein de Caernaruan 't le Viscounte Danglesey e leur fount pr ceaux deñs destreindre greoosement $p^{r}$ tut leurs temps, issint $\tilde{q}$ si ñre dit seign ${ }^{r}$ ' $\mathfrak{z}$ son counseil ne voillent a ceste foiz $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{r}}$ ceo

App. Ac. ordener remedie: il leur couient lesser leurs tres 't tenementz : A.D. $\quad$ 't aler mendinauntz $p^{r}$ toutz iours saunz releuer . $\mathbf{P}$ quoi il 1322. prient au dit seign ${ }^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{t}$ a son conseil $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{r}}$ Dieu $\tilde{q}$ eaux quise la dite enqueste 't examinee :' voillent ordener qil soient deschargez de ceaux deñs $p$ an $p^{r}$ le temps passe ' $t$ a venir :' ou qil leur plaise comaunder brief de la Chauncelerie a la dite Iustice ou a son lieu tenaunt en Northgales a estendre le dit Maner oue les apprtenaunces de nouel : issint qil peussent $s^{r}$ ceo estre mýs a leur čtein des ore en auaunt: ${ }^{\mathfrak{Z}} \tilde{\mathrm{q}}$ eaux ne soient mais en tiele mane greuez ne tanaillez :' 'q q leur destresces soient $p^{r}$ le pfit du dit seign ${ }^{r}$ relessez : $\tilde{q}$ leur gaignerẏe 't leur viure ne soient arerýz ou desaitz:' p defaute de succour.
[En- Il semble a Counseil sil plest a Roi $\tilde{q}$ bon ŝreit $\tilde{q}$ le Maner dorsed.] sut de nouel estendu $p$ bones $\mathfrak{Z}$ suffisauntz gentz, issint $\tilde{q}$ ñre seign ${ }^{r}$ le Roi pusse sauer la Vite del extente ' $\mathfrak{z}$ comaunder outre sa volunte.

Corā Rege.
Veniat Inquis cū peticõe coram Rege.
Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hibñ $\mathfrak{Z}$ Dux Aquit dilc̃o 't fideli suo Eđo Comiti Arundelf Iustic̃ suo Walt vel eius locū tenenti in ptiby Northwalt salt̃m. Ex parte villanŏ̧ ñroz de Mañio ñro de Penros in Com̃ Angles̃ not est ostensum đ̄d cū antecessores sui villani de eodem Mañio temporib; Principis Walt $q$ tris ' teñ que ipi i villani nunc tenent eisdem Principibs viginti $\mathfrak{t}$ unam libras 7 sex denar̃ $p$ omimodis consuetudinib; $\mathfrak{t}$ sैuiciis $\mathfrak{t m}$ soluere consueuissent ac post conquestū tre Walt consuetudines 7 şuicia plec̃a ad quadraginta ' duas libř't duodecim denarios $£$ Ministros đni E quondā Regis Angt patris [ñri] erronice extensa fuissent ac etiam supoñata. 't licet ad psecucõem villanoz̆ pdecoç idem pater ñr nup Iustic̃ suo tre puc̃e p br̃e suū mandasset $\tilde{q} d$ de errore $\begin{gathered}\text { hito }\end{gathered}$

## Petition of the Villani of Penros, 1322.

in faciendo extentam $\hat{\text { phec̃am }}$ inquisiuisset pleni ${ }^{\ominus}$ veritatem ip̃mq prrem nr̃m inde ĉtificasset ut idem pater ñr dc̃is villanis iusticiam fieri fecisset in hac pte : $\mathfrak{p} d$ c̃us tamen Iustic̃ $\mathfrak{p} m i s s a$ fače non curauit, pquod dc̃i villani de viginti' $\mathfrak{t}$ una litr 't sex denar̃ ulta rectam 't antiquā extentam annuatim a tempore extente $\widehat{p} d$ c̃e sic erronice fũe ad $s c^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{cm}$ nr̃m de Kaernaruan indebite onerantr, $\mathcal{t} p$ eisdem viginti $\mathfrak{z}$ una $\operatorname{lib} \tilde{r}^{\prime} t$ sex denar̃ not ad idem $s^{2} c m$ reddenđ $g^{a} u i t$ distringunt ${ }^{r} 7$ ea occõne inquietant ${ }^{r}$ min $^{9}$ iuste in ip 0 द̆ villanoz̧ dispendiū non modicū $\mathfrak{Z}$ iacturam. Nolentes $\mathfrak{q} d$ ipri rillani indebite $\mathrm{p}_{\mathrm{g}} \mathrm{grauent}^{r}$ in hac parte. Vot mandam ${ }^{2} \tilde{q}^{d} p$ inquisicõem $p$ vos si necesse fuit inde faciend $\mathfrak{Z}$ aliis viis $\mathfrak{Z}$ modis quib; potitis vos pleni ${ }^{9}$ in-
 suetudinib; $\mathfrak{z}$ suiciis suis ante conquestū phdc̃m dederint $\mathfrak{z}$ quo tempore extenta $\mathfrak{p} d \tilde{d}_{a}$ fc̃a fuit ' $\mathfrak{p}$ quos $\mathfrak{t}$ qualit' ' quo modo, 'Z utrū erronice fc̃a fúit ut p̃dc̃m est :'p quod ip̃i villani de p̂dc̃is vigintí $\mathfrak{t}$ una libr̃ $\mathfrak{z}$ sex denar̃ exoñlari debeant necne . Et cū sup $\hat{p}$ missis eritis pleni ${ }^{\ominus}$ informati nos de informacõe illa sub sigillo ṽro distincte ' $\mathfrak{Z}$ apte sine ditone reddatis ĉtiores hoc bre not remittentes ut ultius pfatis villanis sup $\hat{p}$ missis fieri faciam${ }^{\ominus}$ quod de consilio ñro fore viderim ${ }^{9}$ facienđ. TT me iño apud Eboy. xviij die Maii anno r. ñ quintodecimo.

P peticõem de consilio.
Inquisicio facta coram Thoma de Wynnesburẏ tenente locū đni Edmundi Comitis Arundelt Iusticiar Walt in North Walt apud Penros die Iouis $p \tilde{x}$ post fm sc̃i Iacobi A $\mathrm{p} l i$ anno regni Reã. E. filii Regis. E. sextodecimo, qantum videłt antecessores villanoz đni Reg̃ de Manerio suo de Penros in Comin Anglesese dederūt p consuetudinib; $\mathcal{Z}$ seruiciis suis ante conquestū tre Walt, 't quo tempe facta fuit extenta eiusdem Manerii in qua consuetudines ' 7 seruicia eoz̧dem villanǫ post dc̃m conquestū ad quadraginta $\mathfrak{Z}$ duas libras ' $\mathfrak{z}$ duo-

## Petition of the Villani of Penros, 1322.

APr. Ac. decim denarios sterlingoz extendebant ${ }^{r}$, ${ }^{7}$ p quos qualit ' $\mathfrak{z}$
A.D.
1322. quo modo, $\mathfrak{Z}$ utrum eadem extenta erronice facta fuerit $p$ quod ipipi villani de viginti ' $\mathfrak{t}$ una libr̃̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ sex denariis. vidett
 in bři content̃ exonari debeant nee ne :' p hos iur̃. Howel Whýth, Tuđ ap Leweł, Howel Lippa, Leweł ap Howel, Eignon ap Iǫ̧, Madoc ap Eignon, Edeneuet ap Eignon, Iǫ Widel, M\}dutt Duý, Eignon Vaghan, Ioz̨ ap Philip $\mathfrak{t}$ Madoc Vaghan. Qui dicūt sup sacr̃m suū ${ }^{\text {qu }}$ d antecessores dẽǒ villano̧ đni Reg̃ de Manerio suo de Penros tempibz Principū Walf ante conquestum eiusdem Pre soluerūt eisdem Principibz annatim de redditu assióo $p$ sex gauelt 't dî tre ibidem ! qatuor libras, nouem solidos ' $\mathfrak{q} q^{\text {atuor }}$ denarios preter suicia $\mathfrak{z}$ consuetudines eoz̧dem que ip̃i fecerūt $p$ residuo Prą̧ suaç ibidem ${ }^{\text {'t }} q^{2}$ tuor carucatis fre đnice predči Manerii eisdem villanis dudū liberaã. Et dicūt $\mathrm{q} d$ predicta seruicia ${ }^{\prime}$ t consuetudines post predc̃m conquestū extendebantr ad decem ' octo libras, $q^{\text {in }}{ }^{n}$, solidos, duos denarios,
 đni Reğ fecit extentam predc̃oç seruicio ${ }^{\text {º }} 7$ consuetudinū $p$ duodecĩ hoĩes iur̃ de Com̃ Angleseỳe, que quidem extenta ita $g^{\text {aruis }}{ }^{\text {'t }}$ suponerosa facta fuit $\tilde{q} d$ nūq $q^{\text {a }}$ m aliquis denarios sūme in eadem extenta contente leuare potuit hucusq nec sūmam illam attinğ'), $p$ viginti solidos $\mathfrak{z}$ sex denarios annuatim . Et q̃ad post extentā illam sic fc̃am ! frater Lewelinus tunc Prior fr̃um Predicatō̆ Bangor̃ qui associatus fuit predc̃o Mag̃ro Ric̃o $p$ dc̃̃m dñm Regem ad extentam predc̃am faciendam q ip̃e Magister Ric̃us eundem fr̃em Lewelinū ad extentam illam facienđ non expectauit ! accessit ad Maneriū de Penros ' fecit unam nouam extentam ' illam tunc irrotulari fecit simul cū $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{t}} \mathrm{ma}$ extenta in rotulo extente toti ${ }^{\circ}$ Coñ Angless. Ita $\tilde{q}^{d} p$ errorem extente $p$ prefatū Lewelinū 't $g^{\text {a }}$ uitatem ${ }^{\mathfrak{t}}$ suponeracõem extente p predc̃m

Petition of the Villani of Penros, 1322.


Cancellar̃ đ̃i Regis Angt p Iustic̃ Walt.
Scribatr Camẫ de Kaernẫ q̃a $p^{a t}$. phdič̃ demandam quā fac̃
[Endorsed.] villani Regis de Penros de xxj. lï.rj. đ ulta antiquā extentā . . . . oq usq in crastino Purificacōis te Marie . Et intim scrutat extentas de $q^{\text {f }}$ b inquisicio facit mencõem $\mathfrak{t}$ inde čtificet Thes̃ $\mathfrak{z}$ Baroñ de $\mathrm{Sc}^{\text {ancicio ad diê p̂cc̃m. }}$

## APPENDIX Ad.

COURT ROLL OF ABERFFRAW, 20 EDW. III., A.D. 1346 .

APP. A d, $\overline{20 \mathrm{Edw}}$
[20 Edw. 1346.]

Court Rolls, Bundle 215, No. 13, Public Record Office.
Magnus Turnus Cōmoti de Maltaith teñ̃ ap̃d Crucanel die Venis pẍ post fm Decolacõis sc̃i Ioћis Bap̃te . anno . $\tilde{\text { rr }}$. E . $\mathrm{xx}^{0}$.
Aðfrau.
nich
Atha Loit $q$, ve . loco $q^{i} n q_{\text {i }}$ iur̃.
 ap Madyn Esspyn qui attach fuit $q$, fregit pacem in Nunđ ${ }^{7}$ $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xit sang de Laurence fregit $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{i}}{ }^{\text {son }} \mathfrak{Z}$ ' euasit a custođ portar 't fugit.

+vj đ + vj. đ xijđ vj.đ
Iog. Eigñ filii Meur ${ }^{c}$ ap Iocke Ieu $^{\text {an }}$ n ap $T e \tilde{g}$. Ieu ${ }^{\text {an }}$ ap Teg̃ ap Itf vocati nō ve . ad trnū.
iiij. $\mathfrak{s}$
Villata $p$.iiij. concet in $\mathrm{m}^{2}$.
[12 Sept. Magn ${ }^{9}$ trn$^{2}$ Cōmoti de Turkelyn tent̃ ap̃d Lanuol die 1346.] Martis $p \tilde{x}$ ante fm Nat̃ be Mar̃ anno $\mathfrak{r} \tilde{r}$. $\mathrm{xx}^{0}$.

Penros.

> De villata q p ptrbat Cur̃. ij. $\widetilde{s}$
> $P^{\prime} 〕_{s} \tilde{q} d ~ Đ d$ ap Ith $t^{a} \times i t$ sang de Lowargh Duy. 32
car in carcere
Et $\tilde{q} d$ Eigñ Gogћ Soyke feloñ fur̃ fuit unū rete p̂cii iiij. đ App. Ad. de Ienan ap Deyke.
Cōptū est $\mathfrak{q} d$ villata fr̃ defeñ eo ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ d nō soł ppartē $\mathfrak{p} c i i$ equoğ carian excheit.
ij. ${ }^{\text {s }}$
Villata $p$ concet.
Cōptū est q̃d Atha $\operatorname{Ioz̧} \mathfrak{Z}$ Đd filii Eigũ Gogћ Crethe detent esse aduoc̃ Princ̃ et. $\tilde{r}$. se 'z sedent sup tram Eñi ap̃d Thlanderadoke.

## APPENDIX A e．

## EXTENT OF ABERFFRAW WITH ITS HAMIJETS， 13 EDW．III．，A．D． 1339.

Chancery Inquisition Post Mortem， 13 Edward III．（2nd nrs．） No．58，Public Record Office．

Apr．Ae．Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hibñ $\mathfrak{t}$ Dux Aquit̃ A．D．Iustic̃ suo Northwalt vel eius locū tenenti ibidem ．salt̃m ． 1339．Quia quibusdam çtis de causis çtiorari volumus sup vero valore Mañii de Aberfrawe cum ptiñ in Northwalt ．exceptis una carucata lre＇t dimiđ in eodem Mañio que dilcus not Mag̃r Roĝus de Heytoñ Surigicus ñr tenet ad iminū vite sue ex concessione ñra．quantum vidett valeat $p$ annū una cū đnicis ．homagiis．Suiciis ．redditibz ．ac aliis exitibz tre iuxta verum valorem eiusdem．Voち mandamus $\tilde{q}^{d} p$ sacr̃m pboz et leg̃ hoĩm de balliua ṽra $p$ quos rei vitas melius sciri potit mañium phdc̃m．exceptis dc̃is carucata tre $\mathfrak{z}$ dimiđ．in forma p̂dc̃a diligenで extendi fac̃ et extentam illam distincte ＇z apte fãam nő in Cancellar̃ ñram sub sigillo ṽro＇t sigillis eǒ̧ p quos f c̃a fûit sine dilõne mittatis＇t hoc br̃e．T̃． Edwardo Duce Cornut＇t Comite Cestr̃ fil ñro carissimo． Custode Angł apud Kenyngtoñ ．xx．die Febr̃ ．anno ．r ．ñ ． tciodecimo．
$P$ br̃e de priuat sigilt．
［En－Execuc̃o istius br̃［is］patet in extenta huic br̃i cōsuta． dorsed．］Extenta Manerii de Aberfrau in Northwalt，facta apud Caerñ die Sabちti $p$ x̃ post festum sc̃i Gregorii anno．$\tilde{r}$ ．Re ． Ẽ ．Pcii post conquestum tciodecimo coram Wiltmo de Shalde－ forde locum tenente đni Ric̃i Comitis Arundelt Iustic̃ đni

Regis in Northwalt . virtate cuiusdam bris eisdem ${ }^{1}$ Iustic̃ $\tilde{v} 1$ eius locū tenenti de Cancellar̃ Angł directi ! p sacr̃m Kenewric ap Griffutћ. Ienaf ap Yereward. Griffutћ ap Dauid Vaghn . Howeli ap Lewelī, Griffuth ap Dauid Gethyn. Ieuan ap Howel . Eignon Terrioc . Edeneuet Gogh . Howel ap Danid ap Roppert. Ieuan ap Phelip. Blethyn ap Madoc. 't Kenewric ap Eignon de Com̃ Angleš-Qui dicunt sup sacr̃m sū̃ $\tilde{q}^{d}$ sunt in Manerio de Aberfrau sunt $q^{1} n q$, carucate terre. De quib; Magisi Roĝus de Heytone tenet unam carucatam tre $\mathfrak{t}$ dimiđ . et s........ Yre ' $\mathfrak{d i ̃}$. que valent $p$ annū .Cv. s . vidett quett carucata .xxx. s-Item dic̃ $\mathfrak{q} d$ sunt ibidem. iij. Molenđ que valent p annū .ix. lĩ-Item . . . . pannū .xiij. s.iiij. đ. If .j. piscaria que valet .ij. s.-Item de redditu libere tenentiū ibidem xxix. s .viij. đ-It de redditu tenentiū de Bodeueur̃ ptiñ eidem Manerio .xv. s .xj. đ. -Item de redditu liちe tenentiū de Hameletto de Trewaspatike .x. s.-Item de villanis eiusdem ville de Tunke v. s.vj. đItem de eisdem villanis $p$ farina, butiro, lacte ' $\mathfrak{t}$ opac̃onib; xiij. s.vij. đ. of-Item de Hameletto de Trefberwyth huic Manerio annexo de redditu assiso ij villanoz .ix. s̃ .viij. đ. Item de . iiijor cronocis farine ordei .v. s̃ .iiij. d.-If̃ de maltonib; .iiij. s̃ .vj. đ.—Item de .ix. agnis xviij. đ—It de xx
eisdem villanis p butiro .ij. s̃ .iiij. đ.-Item de Ciiij. ouis .vij. đ.-It̃ de .ix. gallinis .ix. đ.-It̃ de dc̃is .ix. hominibz p opac̃onibz de .Clxj. diei .xxxvj. s̈ .ij. đ. ot.
$S^{2}$.xxj. lĩ.xv. s̃ .xj. đ.
Hamelettum de Dynthlodan eidem Manerio de Aberfrau annexū. $Đ$ redditu assiso .j. villani ibidem .ij. §. Vidett de Dauid de Hitnico $p$ medietate blađ 't lact quod M ${ }^{\text {aonnyth—Item de filiis Gregorii ap Lewelyn p } j \text {. cronoko }}$ frii't. iiijor cronocis farine aueñ :'viij. š.vj. đ. De eisdem p. .iij. multonibj .xij. đ. De eisdem . . . De eisdem $p$ Butiro .vj. d.-

## Extent of Aberffraw, 1339.

Apr. Ae. De eisdem $p$.xl. ouis.j. đ. of—De eisdem p. vj. gallinis .vj. đ.
A.D. 1339. De eisdem p opac̃onibz .xxx. dierū .iij. s̃ .ix. đ. De Pelipar̃ p dĩ . . . cronoci farine ordei . medietate .j. m̃ltonis . medie氏̃ .j. agñi . p .x Cunnis butir̃ 't $p$ medietã̃ j. galline .xiij. đ . ot. De opac̃onibz eoz̧lem vij diez.xj. đ q ${ }^{\text {a }}$.

Sm²-xviij. s .ix. đ q ${ }^{\text {a }}$.
Hamelett̃ de Keuyntreffrau eidem Manerio annexū . De redditu villanǒ̧ eiusdem ville .iij. s .iiij. đ. De eisdem p .j. agno 't dĩ . p butir̃ . De . . . . . . gallinis 't dĩ . p Estor blađ. de opac̃onibz .iij. diȩ xviij. đ. ő . Et respondent de M'Jionyth cum villanis de Tref berwyth.

Smáiiij. s̃ .x. đ . ot.
Villani de Aberfrau. De redditu assiso dc̃oz villano弓 .viij. š .viij. đ. De eisdem de .x. cronoc̃ 't dĩ fr̃i . De .vij. cronoc̃ farine aueñ, et de . . . . . . xlviij. s̃ .vij. đ . De .ix. villanis eiusdem ville $£$ lacte .iiijor. vacẽ .iiijor ${ }^{\circ}$ mltoñ $\mathfrak{t}$ dĩ ix. agñ . Butir̃ .Cxl. ouis 't .xxvij. gallinis .xvj. s̃ . . . . . . tribz miltonibz .vj. agnis . ix. gallinis . butir̃ ' .C. ouis v. s .j. đItem sunt in dc̃a villa .ix. villani. De quibz .xxvij. gallinis .ij. § . . . đ . . . . . . iij. diȩ̧ ad serclanđ blađ .ij. s̊ .iij. đ. q, quilt eoz recepit $p$ diem $j$. prandium-De eisdem villanis p igne 't stramīe in Cur̃ đni . . . . . . in autumpno de .CCC. homilibz quos xvj. villani de Manerio de Aberfrau inuenient. xx
Et de.iiij.homíib; quos villani forinceci de Cantredo [invenient.] De homib; ${ }^{\circ} t$ equis ad herciand $p$.j. diem .Lxxv. s̃. capp p diem .j. đ. ob.-Item de dẽis villanis de Aberfrau $p$.x. cronocis De pastra .xx. s. De pquisit Cur̃ .xl. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$.xvj. lĩ .xviij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ to $^{\ddagger}$. xxxix. fi .xij. đ . ot. $\mathrm{q}^{\text {a }}$.
In cui rei testimoniū p̂dc̃i Iur̃ huic [ext]en[te] sigilla sua apposuerunt.

Dať apud Caerñ die $\mathfrak{Z}$ anno supadecis.

## APPENDIX Af.

## ASSESSMENT TO A FIFTEENTH OF ABERFFRAW WITH ITS HAMLETS [A.D. 1320-1340].

## Treasury of Receipt, Miscell. $\frac{68}{4}$, Public Record Office. ${ }^{1}$

Rotul taxac̃onis oĩum bono̧̧ mobiliū c̃qraliū cemoti App. Af. Maltraeth ad . $\mathrm{x} \mathrm{r}^{\text {am }}$. ptē p taxator̃ videl; . p Tuderū Gam $\mathfrak{z}$ Dd Gethyn.
[A.D. 1320 1340.7
$I^{e}$ rotul ${ }^{9} \mathrm{ex}^{r}$ cū nono $\mathfrak{Z}$ noĩa cōcordant.
Villa Ab̄frau cū suis Hamlete.

 aûia .iij. āno̧̧ $\cdot \hat{p} \cdot c^{\varepsilon} 1 ;$ ij. s̃ .rj. đ . iiij aûia .ij. āno̧̧ $\cdot \hat{p}$.







 aue. $\mathrm{P}^{2} \cdot \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{3}$.ij. s.

Mađ ap Dđ tt in bo . ta $\tilde{x}$.iij. vac̃ $\cdot \widehat{p} \cdot c^{s} 1_{j}$. iij. sै .iiij. đ .
 j. Cr̃. far̃. $\hat{\mathrm{P}}$.ij. š.




[^175]
## Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraur, 1320-40.


[A.D.
13201340.]






$S^{2}-\mathrm{ij}$. s.


Dđ Voel tit i bo . tã.$i j$. boũ $\widehat{p} \cdot c^{91}$, v. s-j.j. eqũ $\cdot \hat{p}$
 -iij. Cr̃. far̃ . aue . P̂. $\mathrm{c}^{91 \xi}$.ij. š.

 Р.$c^{9} l_{3}$.ij. š.

Eẏnō ap Toke fit in boñ tax̃ . vidz $\cdot x$ vj. boũ $\cdot \mathfrak{p} c^{\rho} l_{3}$.v. s̃
 s. .j. đ.




Ymetyr̃ tit in bo . tax̃ .iij. boũ . ${ }^{3} c^{9} 1_{3}-\mathrm{V}$. $\mathrm{s}^{3},-\mathrm{j}$. ium̃tū .

 far̃ ${ }^{\hat{0}} \mathrm{c}^{9} \mathrm{l}_{3}$.ij. s.

Gwenlł f Ad tit in bo . tax j. boũ . p. .v. s-j. ium̃tū $\hat{p}$
 đ. $\quad \mathrm{c}^{9} 1_{3}$-ij. š- j. Cr̃. far̃. P .ij. s.


 .xvj. đ.

 む.



Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffaux, 1320-40.

 iij. Cr̃. far . aue . ${ }^{\mathrm{P}} \mathrm{c}^{9} \mathrm{l}_{3}$.ij. s. .x. đ.
Dđ ap Međ ht in bo . ta $\tilde{x} \cdot j \cdot$ eqũ $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}} \cdot \nabla \cdot \tilde{\text { s. }} \mathrm{ij}$. boũ $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}}$

 .vj. đ.

Sussanaf ht in bōis tã $\cdot \nabla \cdot \nabla a \tilde{c} \cdot \hat{P} \cdot c^{2} 1 \xi$.iij. s .iiij. d.
 $S^{a}$ xiij. đ. ob.

 ot.



Mathu ap $D đ$ đt in bo.tax̃ .ij. boũ $\cdot \widehat{p} c^{\varepsilon} l \mathfrak{j}$.v. s.-j.






 ij. ã̛̛ia .ij. ānoz̧ . $\hat{\mathrm{P}}$.ij. s̃.-vij. oues $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}}^{\mathrm{c}^{9} l_{3}} \cdot \mathrm{vj}$. đ.-iij. Cr̃ .
 Cr̃. orđ $\mathfrak{p} \cdot c^{2} l j$.xvj. đ.


 đ.

 ij. s-j. Cr far aue. $\tilde{c} \cdot \mathrm{di}^{\circ} \cdot \stackrel{\text { P }}{\mathrm{P}}$.ij. s.





Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffrax, 1320-40.
 $\overline{[A . D .} \quad$ dio $\cdot \hat{p}$.iij. s.

 .iiij. đ̋. .ij. s̃ .vj. đ / j. Cr̃. far̃. . p.ij. s̃.

 .vij. đ. -xiij. oues $\hat{\mathrm{P}} \mathrm{c}^{2} 1 \mathfrak{j}$.vj. đ. / dim. Cr̃ fru . $\widehat{\mathrm{P}}$.xv. đ. / .iiij. Cr̃ far̃ aue. . $\stackrel{\mathrm{P}}{ }$.ij. s.


 .iij. s .ix. đ. / j. Cr̃. c̃ dio far̃ . $\widehat{p}$.iij. s. / ij. oues . $\hat{p}$.xij. đ.
 $S^{a}$.xxij. boũ $\hat{p}$.v. š. / iiij. aûia .ij. ānoz $\cdot \hat{P} \cdot c^{2} 1_{3}$.ij. s. / iij. ones $\hat{p} c^{2} 1_{3}$



 iij. Cr̃ far̃ aue $\hat{\mathrm{P}} . \mathrm{c}^{\rho} \mathrm{l}_{\mathfrak{z}}$.ij. §ั.

Feydath tit in bo . ta $\tilde{x}$.j. iuñtū $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}} \cdot$ v. $\tilde{s} / \mathrm{j}$. boũ $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}}$ $\mathrm{Sm}_{\mathrm{s},}$.iiij. .v. s. v. vac̃ $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}} \mathrm{c}^{\rho} \mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{j}}$. iij. s .iiij. đ. / iij. aûia .ij. ānoz $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}} \cdot \mathrm{c}^{2} 1_{3}$
 .vj. đ. / iiij. Cr̃ far̃ aue . $\hat{\mathrm{P}}^{2} \mathrm{c}^{9}$.ij. s.

Ioz̧ ap Bleđ tht in bo . ta $\tilde{x}$.j. ium̃tū $\hat{p}$.v. s̃. ij. va $\tilde{c} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}}$.
 p .ij. s. .vj. đ.

 Ykest tit i . bo . tax .ij. boũ . §ै.v. s̃. / ij. iuñta ค̂.v. s̃. /

 ค ${ }^{\text {p }} \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{I}_{3}$.ij. ธั.


## Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberifraw, 1320-40.





 aue. $\widehat{p} \cdot c^{2} l \mathfrak{j}$.ij. s. / vj. vac̃ $\widehat{p} \cdot c^{\varepsilon} 1$; .iij. s. .iiij. đ. / ij. Cr̃ pis



 Utẽ . Pे xij. đ.

Mađ ap Yriskynit hȳī bōis tã̃ .j. eqū . ̂̀ .r. s. / iij. vac̃ . $\mathrm{S}^{\mathrm{a}}$.xvij.
 . $x i j$. đ.



 aue. $\hat{\mathrm{P}}^{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{l} \mathrm{g}$.ij. s. Uteñ. $\widehat{\mathrm{P}} \cdot \mathrm{xij}$. đ.



 P. xvj. đ.

 dio. far̃. $\widehat{\mathrm{P}}$.iij. گ̋.

Eynõ ap Deike tit in bo . tax̃ j. boũ . .े.v. s. ', ij. iuñta .

 p.ij. § / xlvj. oues . P c̊lj .vj. đ. Uteñ .iij. s. .iiij. đ / iij. Cr̃
 orđ Pे.xvj. đ.



App. Af. Uteñ . $\mathfrak{P}$.iij. š. / j. Cr̃. fru . $\tilde{c}$ dio. ph iij. s̃.ix. đ / iij. Cr̃ far̃
[A.D.
1320-

 oђ.
 p xvj . [đ].



 $\hat{P}^{2} \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{s}}$.ij. s.
$S^{\mathrm{a}}$ iij. $\tilde{s}$ .v. đ.
$S^{\mathrm{a}}$ xiiij. đ. $q^{\text {a }}$.

Filii $I e^{a} n$ Gam tht in bo . ta $\tilde{x}$.ij. boũ $\cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}}$.r. s̃. j. ium̃tū




 .iij. s.

Elydir tht in bo . tã̃ .j. boũ . ९.v. s̃ / iiij. vac̃ . pे. $\mathrm{c}^{2} 1_{3}$
 .x. đ. .vj. đ. / Uteñ . 仓ै .xij. đ / j. Cr̃. frũ . P .ij. s̃ .vj. đ / iij. Cr̃ . far̃ . aue. $\widehat{\mathrm{p}} . \mathrm{c}^{9} \mathrm{l}$.ij. s.


 / iiij. Cr̃. orđ. ${ }^{\mathrm{p}} \mathrm{c}^{9} \mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{z}} \cdot \mathrm{xvj}$. đ.


 .ij. s.




Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw, 1320-40.
 p̂.ij. s.

Ioç ap $\tilde{G} \tilde{g}$ tht in bo . $\operatorname{ta} \tilde{x}$.ij. vac̃ $\cdot \widehat{\mathrm{P}} \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{3}$.iij. s .iiij. $\mathbb{a} / \mathrm{j}$.





Gwenlt f Ygof tht in bo . ta $\tilde{x} / \nabla \cdot v a c \tilde{P} \cdot \ddot{P} \cdot c^{2} l_{j}$.iij. $\tilde{s}_{S^{a}}$.xxij.
 .rj. đ. / j. Cr̃. fru . P .ij. s. .vj. đ.


 .xvj. đ. / ij. Cr̃. far̃. ${ }^{\text {P }} \cdot \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}$; .ij. s.



 j. Cr. orat. ${ }^{\text {P }}$.xvj. đ.

Iean ap Teğ $\hbar t$ in bo. ta $\tilde{x}$.j. iuñtū . शै .v. s̃ / iiij. vac̃ . Pे. $c^{9} 1_{3}$.iij. š .iiij. đ / xxr. oues $\cdot \stackrel{?}{\mathrm{P}} \cdot \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{\mathfrak{z}} \cdot \mathrm{vj}$. đ .iij. aủia .ij.




 Cr̃ orđ $\cdot \hat{\text { P }} \cdot \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{3} \cdot x$ xy. đ.

Ior̃ Du tht in bo . ta $\tilde{x}$.j. boũ . .़. v. s̃. / j. eqũ . .़. v. š

 ค Pvj . đ .iiij. oues • ค. $\cdot \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{\mathfrak{z}} \cdot \mathrm{vj}$. đ.

Teg̃ Goch ht in bo . ta $\tilde{x} \cdot$ r. boũ $\cdot \hat{\beta} \cdot c^{2} l_{\xi} \cdot v$. s / iij. eqs



## Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw, 1320-40.


[A.D. $\mathrm{ij} . \widetilde{s} / \mathrm{ij}$. Cr̃. orđ $\hat{\mathrm{P}} \mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{I}_{3} . \mathrm{xvj}$. đ.

$S^{a}$ iij. s̀. oђ. mi?

 ij. Cr̃. orđ. ${ }^{\text {P }} \mathrm{c}^{9} \mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{z}}$. xvj. đ.



 .xvj. đ.
 $q^{2}$. $\hat{p} c^{2}{ }^{1}$ z.iij. s. .iiij. đ.

 .ij. đ. ơ.

 / ij Cria orđ P $\mathrm{c}^{2} \mathrm{l}_{\mathrm{z}} \mathrm{xvj}$. [む].

Hynaf ap Melẏr't Mađ ap Ioke tint in bōis tã̃ .vj. boũ .


 $c^{9} 1$ g.ij. s / iiijor Cr̃ orđ. ${ }^{3} \mathrm{c}^{9} \mathrm{l}_{3}$.xvj. đ.






$S^{a}$ xiiij. Eỷnõ ap Brygkẏ tit ī bo . tax̃ .iij. vac̃. $\hat{p}, c^{2} \xi_{\xi}$.iij. š.iiij. đ đ. $q^{a}$.
$S^{n}$ xiiij. đ.
 .vj. đ.



Assessment to a Fifteenth of Aberffraw, 1320-40.


## Maltht. <br> exar.

$x^{2}$. Cōmoti de Maltraeth—L . iij. lĭ.v. s̃.j. đ. $\mathrm{q}^{3}$.
APP. A f.
pt. $\overline{[A . D}$ 1340.]
[Endorsed.]
pb.
De Comitatu Angles.
Maltra K .
Sma $^{\text {a }}$ exaĩata de toto Cōmoto-Liij. lĩ .v. s̃ .j. đ. $q^{2}$.

APPENDIX Ag.

## ACCOUNT OF THE ISSUES OF ABERFFRAW, 25 EDW. III., A.D. 1351.

Ministers' Accounts, Bundle 1149, No. 1, Public Record Office.

## Aberfrau.

Apr. Ag. Compot ${ }^{\text { }}$. Thom de Harbergh 't Wilti de Waltoñ firmar̃ A.D. Maner̃ de Aberfrau . de exitibus eiusđm a fo sc̃i Michis anno 1351 . regni Regis Ee $\mathfrak{\imath c i i}$ post conquestū xxiiijto. 't Principat ${ }^{9}$ đni Ee Princip̃ Walt Duc̃ Cornut ' $\mathfrak{t}$ Comitis Cestr̃ viijo. usq, iđm fm pxim seqñ anno dc̃i Rege xxv ${ }^{\text {to }}$ Principat ${ }^{9}$ đni Princ̃ ix ${ }^{0}$.
Exit ${ }^{9}$. đ̉nicoz.

D exitibz .iiij. caruc̃ $\mathfrak{t r e}$ ibm que ad vj. lĩ ex̃̃ p anñ sicut cont in exten $\tilde{t}$ facta . tempe Reg̃ aui Re nūc. Quint caruc̃ Tre itm que dimitteも diuse tenent de Trefcastel $p$.lx. s $p$ anñ. uni ${ }^{9} \mathrm{p}^{\text {ati }} \tilde{q}^{d}$ ad vj. s̃ .viij. đ ext̃ $p$ eanđ exten $\tilde{t} \mathfrak{t}$ red anno p̂ceđ xv. s . at pato quod sitil extr ad vj. s .viij. đ. Piscar̃ eiusđm Maner̃ que ad ij. s̃ . ex̃̃ .j Molenđ de Dyndryn

 mot voc̃ Mullebunt $\mathfrak{q} d$ silì ad xl. š ext p anñ . 't r . sot x. s̃ j. đulta eanđm extent . xxx acr̃ tre in vilt de Abfrau que fuer̃ Wilt Daniel . exist̃ in mañ đ̉i ut escaet̃ p mort̃ eiusđm Wilti que sol dimitti ad iij. s̃ .vj. đ ext ${ }^{3}$ exten $\tilde{t}$ seu cui ${ }^{9}$ dm pastur infra dêm Maner̃ que ad xx. ş extenđ $p$ annū. Nec de .lx. §̃
tenent̃ de Trefcastel tenent int se j. caruc̃ tre duđ de đnico đni sic̃ arreñ̃ post confec̃ exteñ p anñ ad iiijor $\mathfrak{\text { qmios vidett }}$ Oìm sc̃oz. Pur̃ be Marie Ap̃loz̧ Pt 't Jacot 't Guł Augusti .xxix. ş .viij. đ. De redđ ass̃ lib tenenc̃ ville de Abfrau sicut cont̃ in extent̃ ad p̂dc̃os iiij. โmios .xv. s.xj. đ. De redđ as̃̃

Hameletti de Bodeueryk ad phdc̃os .iiij. tmios x. s̃ . de redd ass lit teñ de Trewaspatrike ad pod̃os .iiij. Imios .r. s rj. đ. De redđ villañ eiusđ̉m ville de Trūc ad eosđ̉m t̂mīos xiij. ss

## APP. Ag.

[1.D.
1351.] vij. đ. de eisđm villañ $p$ firma butir̃ . lac $\tilde{t} \mathcal{Z}$ opac̃ arreut ad eosđ . ఇñoos ix. s̃ .viij. đ . de redđ ix villañ hameletti de Trefberwete ad eosđm โ̃mos $\nabla$. s̃.iiij. đ de eisđm $p$ iiij. cannoc̃ fariñ orđi ad eosđm โ̊ños iiij. s̃.rj. đ. de eisđm p ix m̃ltoñ arr̃ ad eosđm fiños xriij. đ. p ix agñ arr̃ ad .ij. s iij. đ. de eisdem p

## IX

butur̃ arr̃ ad eosdem f̂mios vij. đ. de eisđm p Ciiij onis galliñ arrent̃ ad eosđm t̂mĩos .ix. đ. de redđ .ix. galliñ de eisđ ad eosđm $\mathfrak{\text { tños . xxxyj. s.ij. đ of de eisđm p Clxj. opibus }}$ j. die ad eosđm t̂mios. ij š de redả j. villñ qui quonđm roc̃ Dd de Hitnico. Hameletti de Dynthladan loc̃ međ blozs suoz
 Gregor̃ ap. Lt . p j. cannoc̃ frii t iiij cannoc̃ aueñ ad eosđm亿̂mios xvj. đ. de eisđ̉m $£$ ij $\mathfrak{m}$ ltoñ $\mathfrak{Z}$ ij. agñ ad eosđm fiños vj. đ. de eisđm $£$ batir̃ ad eosđm โmios .j. đ. ot de eisđm $\ddagger$ xl. oũ galliñ ad eosđm tinos .rj. đ, de eisđm $p$ rj. galliñ ad eosđ̉m ̂̂m̃os .iij. s .ix. đ de eisđm $p$ opibj xxx dierū ad eosđm Pm̃os xiij đ of . de Pellipar̃ p dĩ cannoc̃ farine orđi mediet̃ j. m̂ltoñ j. agñ .j. gallñ ' $\mathfrak{t}$. x. cunis butir̃ ad eosđm $\mathfrak{t m i o s} x j$. đ $q^{3}$, de eođm $£$ opib; vij. dieq. ad eosđm $\mathfrak{t}$ ños iij. s̃ .iiij. đ de redđ villañ hameletti de Keuentrefau ad eosđm ťnios xriij đ . ot de eisđ̉m $p$ j. agñ ' dĩ xxx. Cuñ butir̃ r. gallñ dĭ.j. Histog blađ̉ de opac̃ iij. dieद̧. ad eosđ̉m \{िmios seu de M’ionnṣth. seu viij s̃ viij đ de redđ villañ de Abbfrau p anñ ad eosđm
 fariñ aueñ iiij cånnoc̃ fariñ orđi ad eosđm t̂mios rj. s̃.riij. đ de
 de ix rillañ eiusđm ville $£$ lacẽ iij. vacẽ iiij maltoñ dĩ .ix. angũ xxvij gallñ .Cl. oũ ' batir̃ ad eosđ̉m โ̃̃os r. s̃.j. đ de rj. tenent̃ vast̃ $£$ iij ñltoñ vj. agũ. ix gallñ .C. oũ $\mathfrak{Z}$ butir̃ ad eosđm $\mathfrak{t}$ m̃os ij. š .iij. đ de ix rillañ dc̃e ville p xxrij galliñ ad

App. Ag. eosđm โ̂m̃os ij s .iij. đ de eisđm p opibz iij dierū ad blađđ đni [a.d. sarclanđ ad eosđm ̂̂mīos xxx. s̃ de eisđm villañ p igne $\mathfrak{t}$ 1351.」 strañne in Cur̃ đni Reg̃ ad eosđm ť.lxvj. s .ix. đ de opib; autup̃i CCC hoïm quos xv villñ Maner̃ inuēient 't iiij hoĩm quos villañ forinc̃ inuenient ad eosđm finos .lxxv. s de DC hoĩb; 7 eq̃ ad ћeam $p$ j. diem ad eosđm P nos. Seu de ptitis 't pquis̃ Cur̃ eiusđ̉m Maner̃ p temp ${ }^{9}$ comp̃ releũ 't Gobr̃ tolñ Nunđ itm pquis Cur̃ Nunđ ea̧đm seu xx. s̃ . de firma portar̃ itm $n^{\ddagger}$ r hic eo $\mathfrak{q} d$ dẽm Maner̃ de Abfrau una cū omibz exitibz 't pfic̃ p̂dc̃is eiđm Maner̃ ptiñ seu inde quouismodo pueñ conc̃ §cuis Thom 't Wilłmo ex dimiss̃ Joћnis Delues locū teñ Iustic̃ Northwalt ' $\mathfrak{Z}$ Camer̃ īm p temp̃ hui' ${ }^{\text {comp̃i } \text {. Red }}$ inde đno .xx. lĩ.

De quibj xx. lĭ iiđm Thoñ $\mathfrak{t}$ Willñs $\mathfrak{r}$ inferius. B boñ ก̃ Esc̃. intestã̃ defunctoz escaet̃ $n^{1} \tilde{\mathbf{r}} . q$, Willñs de Ellertoñ firmar̃ escaetrie $\hbar t \mathrm{~h}{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{i}$ pfic̃ ad firmā p tof Com̃ Angles̃ ut sup ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$. D anñ̃ tenenc̃ Mauer̃ in Trno vic̃ seu de Wrecco mar̃ nō atting r̂ Vic̃. valorem xl. s̃ $n^{\ddagger} \tilde{r}$ q, dẽus Willnis de Alertoñ firmar̃ viẽ Angles̃ ht eađm pfic̃ ulta firmā suam. Nec de wrecco mar̃ r̃ Vic̃. decm valorem xl. s̃ exceđ $n^{\ddagger} q 3$ iđm Wilt de Allertoñ det inde comput ' $t$ r in comp suo de hoc anno.

D xij. đ de incro firme xxx. acr $\mathfrak{r}$ tre in Maner̃ de Abfrau exist̃ in mañ đni a diu $p$ reulc $\tilde{c}$ post mor Wilti Daniet qui eas teñ ad fĩm vite de doñ .Lł. Princip ulta ${ }^{\text {iij }}$ s vj. đ ad quos $\mathrm{p}^{i}$ us dimitt̃ dimiss anno ultĩo $\mathfrak{p}$ ito Howel Tew p Thom le $\mathrm{T}^{\mathrm{r}}$ nour Esc̃ sic̃ cont̃ in comp̃ eiusđ Thow̃ de eođm anno $n^{\ddagger} q$, firmar̃ fint eađ̉m pfic̃ infra firmā suam ut $s^{a}$.

## APPEXDIX Ba.

EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE CASTLE AND HONOR OF DENBIGH, 8 EDW. III., A.D. 1335.

Extent of the Fillata of Astret Cunon. Progenies of Canon ap Laurargh located there.

## ss Villata de Astrete Canoñ.

Villata de Astret Canon que dum fuit integ ${ }^{3}$ in manib; pgeiij Canon ap Lauwargћ in .iiij. gauellis quay quett gauella reddit de Tunge tempe Princip .ij. s̃.rj. đ. de quib; patebit statim inpostez Et sunt omes tenentes liti i Z $\tilde{c}$. videft.

## h ; domū

h; domū
Ithel Loyd ap Cadugan Lewelyn Vaghan ap Lt ${ }^{\text {a }}$ $\mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū
Ithel ap Ioz Duy ap Lt tenent di gauelt integr̃ que fuit Lauwargћ Vaghan reddendo de Tunge int se xr. đ tmio Oĩm Sc̃oz Et p pastu Princip̃ ad Natał Dni .xxij. đ . 't quott alio tmino de iijbz t̂mis supadãis .xv. d. 't ceta ŝuic̃ cum aliis in cõi ut p3 inferius et hent excam $\begin{gathered}\text { in Wyckewere }\end{gathered}$ 't alibi p eoz̧ heredit in Astret. Ita $\mathfrak{y} d$ tota eoz hedif in Astret est in mañ đni ${ }^{\prime}$ aren ${ }^{r}$ inferi ${ }^{s} n^{t}$ pateb ${ }^{t}$.

$$
\mathrm{h} \boldsymbol{\imath} \text { domū }
$$

$h_{3}$ domū
Cadugan Bottum ap Edeñ . Lewel Dus ap Eignon .
h; domū h; doñi non h; dom̃
Edeñ ap Tuder ap Eden Keũ ap Heillṣ ap Mađ Z Madoke Dĩ gaũ frait eius tenēt dï gauelt integr̃ que fuit $\mathrm{Iog}_{\text {g ap }}$ ap Canon. Jog ap Reddendo de Tunge $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. iñis phẽis xr. đ Et cet̃a ŝuicia Canon. in omib; ut dĩ gauelt pecedens. et omes ћent excamも in aliis villis ut ceti supius Ita q̃d illa dĩ gauella integr̃ remane; đno in Astret ${ }^{7}$ app $^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{at}^{\mathrm{r}}$ ut patebit inferius.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh， 1335.

App．Ba．
$\overline{\text { A．D．}}$

Gaû
Tenaf ap Canoũ．

Gaũ
Eignon
ap
Canon．

Dî gauelt
Mouryk
ap
Canon．
h 3 domū
$\mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū
Keñ ap Routh ap Ienafe ap Ririd Heilyn ap Grono ap $\mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū $\quad \mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū Ririđ Edeñ Loyđ ap Ken．ap Grono ．Griff ap Li Eigñ $h_{3}$ domū $\quad$ habet domū $\quad h_{3}$ domū
Ken．frai eius Guyn ap Madoke Gogh Caduğ ap Ririd ap $\mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū そet domū
Eignon Bleth ap Ienafe ap Caduğ＇t Ioz ap Cadug ap Yeu
［p．76．］teñ fiam ptem＇t deciam ptem gauelt Ienafe ap Canon． reddendo de Tunge int se ．xij．đ $q^{a}$ ．et $p$ pastu Princip ad Natat Bni Bni ．ij ss ．ij．đ ō q $q^{\text {a }}$＇t quott alio tmīo de iijb3 trinis p̂dictis xviij．đ̛ $\mathfrak{t}$ ceta ŝuicia in cõi ut patebit inferius Et hent excam $\ddagger$ in aliis villis Ita $\tilde{q} d$ tota gauella ista in Astret integr̃ remaneat đno ？ $\operatorname{app}^{u}{ }^{\text {atr }}$ cum aliis $\mathcal{Z} \tilde{c}$ ．
habet domū
Yeuan Loyd ap Grono ap Cadug $\begin{gathered}\text { non } h_{3} \text { domū } \\ \text { non } h_{3} \text { domū }\end{gathered} \quad \begin{gathered}\text { Keñ dom̃ } \\ \text { Dauiđ̃ }\end{gathered}$
fr̃es eius Eden Loyd ap Mađ ap Grono．Madoke ap Ioz ap non $h_{3}$ dom $^{m} \quad$ non $h_{3}$ domũ
Grono ．Euer ap Ithel ap Groĩ Dauid ap Ioz Grono
non habet do ${ }^{m} \quad$ non $h_{3}$ domū non $h_{3}$ dom Eden ap Dđ ap Grono Ioz frat eius＇t Yeuan ap Ioz ap Grono tenent mediẽ̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ xxiiijtam ptem gauelf Eignoñ ap Canon．Reddendo de Tunge Emīo Oĩm Sc̃oz xvj．đ q ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ．＇t p pastu Princiép ad Natał Bni ij．s v d＇t quott alio tmio de iij 民ñis plicte xix đ $\mathfrak{t}$ cefa suic in cõi cum aliis inferius． Et そent excam $\ddagger$ in aliis villis Ita $\tilde{q} d$ tota ista gauella in Astret remanz đno＇t appruatr inferius ut patebit．
 $\mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū $\mathrm{h}_{3} \mathrm{do}^{\mathrm{m}}$
non $h_{3}$ dom $^{m}$
Eignon ap Griffuth Eden ap Griffuth Vaghan Griff ap Yenaf non het domū औet do ${ }^{m}$
ap Grife Owen ap Grono ap Ken．Griffuth ap Bleth Loyđ
het do ${ }^{\text {mi }} \quad$ het do ${ }^{m}$ non औet dom Dauid frai eius Tuder ap Blethyn．Heillyn ap Keñ ap Bleti non het domū non het dom̃ non ht dom Eden frat eius loz ap Griff Gogh＇t Blethyn＇t Pythle fr̃es eius tenent iij ptes dĩ gauelle Mouryke ap Canon＇ $\mathfrak{t}$ duas
ptes quarte ptis eiusdem gauelle . Reddendo de Tunge p annū f̣mīo Oĩm Sc̃oz xiij. đ q ${ }^{a}$ Et p pastu Princiã ad Natał Dni ij. s̃.v. đ of q $q^{2}$ Et quoft alio tmio de iijbz tmis phdictis xx. đ' $\mathfrak{t}$ ceta suic̃ in cõi ut $\sup ^{2} \mathfrak{Z} \tilde{c}$. 7 hent excamb in aliis villis Ita ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ dẽa dĩ gaũ in Astret remaneat integr̃ đno 't appruatr cum aliis ' $\mathfrak{t}$ c.

## h dom

Mađ ap Dđ ad Eignoñ Dauid ap Lauwargћ Dus Dđ ap
 Mouryke Gogћ Heillyn Cucca Yeua ap Dd ap Mađ . 't
 frat eius $\mathfrak{Z}$ Anneys Moythin Eden ap Eignon ap Keneuth $\stackrel{\text { ap }}{\text { Canoñ. }}$

Griff fraf eius Mađ Gogћ ap Ioz 7 Groñ ap Keñ Gogћ tenent duas ptes ' quintā ptem dĩ gauelł Nynyat ap Canoñ reddendo de Tunge Imino Oĩm Sc̃oz xj. đ Et p pastu Princ̃ ad Natat Oni
 Et ceta şuicia in cõi ut patebit inferius ' hent excam $\mathfrak{\text { in }}$ aliis villis Ita $\tilde{q} d$ ista dĩa gauella reman; integr̃ đno ${ }^{\text {'t app }}{ }^{\text {a }} \mathrm{at}^{\text {r }}$ cū aliis inferius.
 .xj. đ ot $q^{\text {a }}$.

| Sm ${ }^{3}$ pastus | Natat Dni $\quad$ xij st. ij đ ot $\mathrm{q}^{\mathbf{a}}$ ) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Princ̃ ibidem | Međ x $\mathrm{l}^{\text {me }} \quad$ viij ${ }^{\text {s }}$ ij đ ob $\mathrm{q}^{\text {a }}$ | p |
| ad terminos | Nat̃ sc̃i Joشis viij s ij đ ob $q^{a}$ | $\mathrm{xj} . \mathrm{d}$ |

Et sciđ q̃d tota villata de Astret Canoñ deuenit ad man ${ }^{\text { }}$ đni ptim $p$ viam escaet r̃one tenenc̃ qui obierunt cont ${ }^{3}$ pacem 't ptim p viam excambioz̧ et continet tota villata Dlxxiiij acr De quib; sumuntr ad Maneriŭ de Kilforñ quod extenditr in Cōmoto de Kaymergћ CCviij acr̃ ' $\mathfrak{x v i i j}$ ptic̃ $\not$ Zincludun $^{r}$ infra puū pcum iux ${ }^{\mathbb{a}}$ Castm ${ }^{m}$ de Dynbiegh lr acĩ j. rođ dĩ ' $\mathfrak{v}$. ptic̃. Et arentantr ut patet inferieus Cxij acr̃ in bouat ' $\mathfrak{z}$ acr̃ Et sumuntr ad Mañiū de Astret Owesn quod est in Cōmoto de Kam̆gћ xiiij acr dì ' $\operatorname{iiij}$ ptic̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ incluse fuerunt infa pcū de

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Apr. Ba. Lewenny que nūc arentan ${ }^{r}$ cū eodem peo put patet supius A.d. Ciij acr̃ dï' 't xxxvj ptic̃. Et sunt in viis' 't vastis cõibz . xxx 1335. acr̃' ${ }^{\text {t xvij ptic̃. }}$
' iste.x acriarent fuer coram đ̉o apđ Wodestok $\varphi$ p.x. s. $p a^{m}$. Viclear quo waranto sunt nune ad iij. ${ }^{\text {s }}$ iiij. ©.

Willm̃s del Mos tenet unam bouatam coñ̃ x . acr̃ Tre que pöita fuit in Rentali villate de Lewenny erronice ' tred rit p


 quiet̆ alloc̃ $p$ bouat̃ sua ptiñ ad Burg̃ suū de Dynbiegћ infra muros.

Adam de Rossyndale tenet unam bouatam Pre con $\tilde{\mathrm{f}}$.x. acr̃ que prius erronice posit fuit in Rentali rillate de Lewenny ' reddit p $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ ad duos Imios $\mathrm{p} d$ c̃os iij. s .iiij d.

Ioћes de Swynemor 'z Ioћes fił Wilti Egelyne tenent j bouat $\mathfrak{T r e}$ con $\tilde{t} x$. acr̃ $\mathfrak{q}$ qua solebat reddere $p a^{m}$ ad duos t̂mios pac̃os iij s̃ iiij đ Et nūc allocantr ${ }^{r}$ Ioti de Swynemor quiet̃ $p$ bouat̃ sua ptiñ ad Burg sū̃ de Dyñ infra muros 7 $\tilde{c}$. Et fuit ista bouata pris põita in Rentali villate de Lewenny.

Ric̃us de Fermery tenet unam bouatam simitr cont̃ x. acr̃ Tre que prius posita fuit erronice in Rentali villate de Lewenny p qua solebat reddere $p$ annū $\mathfrak{P}$ mis p plictis iij s̃ iiij đ. Et nūc tenet illam quiẽ̃ $p$ bouat̃ sua ad burg̃ suū de Dynt infa muros € ${ }^{\text {c. }}$

Iokes de Lonnesdale tenet unam bouat fre cont $x$. acr̃ que prius erronice ponebat ${ }^{\text {r }}$ in Lewenny $\tilde{\mathrm{r}} \mathfrak{£} \mathfrak{p}$-iij. $\widetilde{s}$.iiij đ. ธัง $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ Firm̃ bouat-Peñ̃. v. š.) Sic p annū x s̃ p iij bouaĩ in P m̃is—Sc̃i Micti .v. §̌. $\int$ cont̃ xxx acr̃.
Willñs Crteys tenet $p$ Cartam đni Wilti de Monte Acuto .xx. acr̃ $\operatorname{Zre}$ imppim q quibz solebat reddere $p$ annū $x x$ s.

Io hes de Mostoĩ tenet iiij acr̃ t̂re p̂c̃ acr̃ viij đ. reddendo p annū ad duos t̂mîos p̂dc̃os-ij. s. .viij đ. Adam le Carpent tenet vij acri Pre pẽ acr viij đ redđo $p$ annū ad duos Imios

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

pac̃os-ij s̃ .viij d. Williñs $z$ Ioћes de Swynemor teñ ij acr̃ App. Ba.


A.D. 1335.



Wilts del Wode tenet $j$. plac̃ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ iiij $\ddagger \mathfrak{z}$. acr̃ $\mathfrak{\text { tre }} \mathrm{p} \tilde{c}$


Iohes de Hoghtoñ tenet vij acr̃ îre $\hat{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ xij đ reddendo คัพis phdictis-rij š.

 iiij ${ }^{\text {s. }}$

Thomas de Lonnasdale tenet r. acr̃ eiusdem $\hat{p} \tilde{c} \tilde{r} \tilde{\text { tiis }}$ phdc̃is v. s.

Iotes de Lonnesdale tenet r acĩ eiusdem $\widehat{\mathrm{p}} \tilde{c} . \tilde{\mathrm{r}} \hat{\mathrm{\imath}} \mathrm{p}$ $\mathrm{a}^{\text {m }}$.v. รั.
 xij d. reddendo $p$ annū t̂minis p̂dictis-iiij. s̃ .rj. đ.

Et p̂̉ea tenentr quieẽ tam int bouat̃ $q^{a} m$ in $\hat{\imath}$ acras ut podicitr-1 acer que solebant reddere $\operatorname{xix}$ § . p annū que nunc nichil reddunt ut supa.

Et sic supsunt 1 acr̃ 7 medietas uni ${ }^{9}$ rode. que cedunt in auauntagiū mensur̃ tenenciū unde dñs nullū capit annuale. pficuū que si extracte fuissent valerent $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{admin}^{\ominus} \mathrm{xxv} \mathrm{s}$. ot $q^{3}$ Pc̃ acr̃ .v. đ.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

## APPENDIX Bb.

Extent of the Villata of Nanthyn Canon. Progenies of Canon up Lauwargh located there.

Villata de Nanthyn Canon.

App. Bb
A.D.

Villata de Nanthyn Canon . que cont̃ in terr̃ bosce 't vaste cū hamelf de Pennankyngy $\nabla^{c}$ lxiiij acr̃ iij rođ consistit in manibz pgenieij Canon ap Lawargћ absq, Tunge 't Treth que est hamelt ptinens ad Astret Canon 't tenetr in iiij gauelt de quibz statim respon ${ }^{r}$ inposteद̆ Et est porc̃o cuiuslibt gauelt s̃cđ̉m equam pticipacõem Cxlj acr̃' ${ }^{\text {t }}$ xxx ptic̃ Pre. bosci ' $t$ vasti ' $\mathfrak{c}$.
[p. 86.] Ithel Loyd ap Cadug̃ 't coheredes 't pticipes sui quoz noĩa patent in villa de Astret Canon tenent dĩ gauelt integr̃ Dỉ gauelł que fuit Lauwargћ Vaghan $p$ qua fac̃ omĩđ suicic in Astret Lauwargћ Vaghan. Canoñ. Et ideo n ${ }^{\ddagger}$ hic Et dñs nullam het ppartem in ista dĩ gauelf ' c .

Cadugan Butoñ 't coheredes 't pticipes sui quog noĩa patent in villa de Astret 't tenent hic dĩ gauelt que fuit Ioz
Dï gaũ ap Canon integr̃ fac̃ p ea omĩđ Ŝuic̃ in Astret Et ideo n hic Iog ap Canoñ.

Dî Gaũ
Ienafe
ap
Canon.

Gaũ
Eigñ ap Canon. Et dñs nullam Ћet ppartem in ista dĩ gauelt.

Ken. Routh ap Iennafe 't coheredes ${ }^{\dagger}$ t pticipes sui quo\% noĩa patent in Astret Canoñ tenent hic duas ptes gauelt que fuit Iennafe ap Canoñ fac̃ p inde omia suicu in Astret Canoñ Et io $n^{¹}$ hic. Et $\mathfrak{P c i a}$ ps istius gamelt est escaet̃ đni rone mortuog con ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ pac̃ $\mathrm{u}^{\mathrm{t}} \mathrm{p}$; inferi ${ }^{9}$.

Yeũ Loite ap Groñ ap Cadug̃ 't coheredes 't pcenar̃ sui quoğ noĩa patent in Astret tenent hic tres ptes gaũ Eigñ ap ('annĩ fac̃ ominia ŝuič in Astret Et ideo nichil hic. Et quarta

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

 inferiu?

Mađ ap Eigñ ap Keñ 7 pcenar̃ sui quo̧̧ noĩa patent in

Astret Canon . teñ hic dĩ gaũ Meurar ap Canon integr̃ fac̃ p ea omĩa şuic̃ in Astret Et ideo n hic Et dins nullà $\ddagger e t$ Esc̃

Dī gaũ Meur ap Canon. de $i^{\text {ta }}$ dī gaũ.

Mad ap Dả ap Eigñ ${ }^{7}$ qucenar̃ sui quoz noĩa patent in Astret Canon . teĩ totam dimiđđ gauelł Ny̌nyat ap Canoñ fac̃ p ea omïđ sunic̃ in Astret Et ideo n̉ hic Et dñs ñlt het esc̃ in $\mathrm{i}^{\mathrm{a}}$ dī gan ${ }^{\text {¹ }}$.

Et est ppars đni ibm fcia ps illins gauelf $\mathfrak{t}$ quarta ps illius gauelł que conẽ s̃cđm veram pporcõem iiij ij acr ${ }^{\text {xx }}$.j. rođ ' xvij ptic̃ dĩ. Lude allocanđ sunt pexcamb phodarioç eiusdem

Distincto Escaet. pgeij pimplend $p$ eoç patimoniis in Astret Canon ' Wennannoke Canoñ . xxix acr̃ iij rođ di' $\mathfrak{\text { iij p ptic̃ dĩ. }}$

Ken . Routh tenj . vij acr̃ dĩ veter̂ tre pec̃ acr̃ rj. đ redđo


Idem Keñ tens in Pennanckyngy iij acr̃ tre que fuerunt Fir ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Esc̃ Ith Voil p̂c̃ acr̃ rj đ reddendo p anū̄ P m̃is p̊dictis-xviij đ.

Et tn hucusq. $\mathrm{n}^{\boldsymbol{1}} \mathrm{p}$ eis reddiđ toto tempe đni nūc quia [p. 87.] erromice pöite fuer̃ in Nanthynn Scooģ 7 sic fraudeien? dedicte ' concellate. Ideo leuentr arrerag̃ ₹ $\mathfrak{c}$ Et iacet illa $\not \mathrm{Pra}^{2}$ in j pec̃ circumfossat. ubi dc̃us Ithel solebat in tempe Escaeẽ redder.

Heillyn ap Groñ ts de assart bosci j acr̃ .j. rođ dĩ $\mathfrak{Z}$ xiiij ptic̃ $p$ mensur̃ Extent̃ $\hat{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ rj. đ reddendo $p$ annū ad duos
 $a c^{3}$ ทj. đ.
 acr̃ rj đ quas excamb p pte Keñ Routh in Wennannok Canon. Uñ idem Hugo. $\mathfrak{r}$ de ista firma in incroo itm $\mathfrak{Z}$ Ideo $\mathrm{n}^{\mathfrak{1}}$ de ista firma hic.

Videar ${ }^{\text {r }}$ que fuit pporc̃o Ken Routt. in Wen- nānok Canon. ̃̃̃d si aliq̃d auant̃ por̂it accresce de dc̃o excamす accrescat đ̃o ex quo ambe ptes tenēt in ins̄r non ћent putestat fac̃ excamb sũ lic̃ đni

Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.
App. B b. A.D. 1335.
 iij rođ dĩ xiij ptic̃ de incr̃o.

Et residuū ppartis đni alloc̃ phodar̃ de Astret Canon peoz
 ћbag tota cõitas ville $\tilde{r} p$ annū ad duos $\mathfrak{~ P m i o s ~ p ̂ d c ̃ o s ~ i x . ~ s . ~}$ $S^{\text {a }} \mathrm{pz}$.

Ken Routh tenz ad firmam ppartem đni quam ћet in uno Molendino aquatico eiusdem ville $\tilde{r}$ p annū $\hat{\imath}$ p ij s . viij đ.

Idem Keñ reddidit đno annuatim incipiendo anno viijo . ut fate $^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{ij}$ s . viij đ p licenc̃ leuanđ unū Molenđ fulloñ $\mathfrak{Z} \tilde{c}$ sup solū cõe ut $\operatorname{dic}^{t} \mathfrak{t}$ c̃.
s̃s. $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ Firm Molendini ad Terminos


## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

## APPENDIX Bc.

Extent of the Villata of Prees . Progenies of Canon ap
Lauwargh and Pithle ap Lauwargh located there.

## Villata of Prees.

Villata de Prees cum suis hameilis que con $\tilde{P} \widehat{P}$ magnum App. Bc. vastum quod est cõe ad omes tenentes dominii de Ros et de mt e
A.D. 1335.

Rewaynok' K Kayningћ viij viij lxxviij acr̃ j rođ dĩ que temporib; [p. 89.]
Principum reddidit de Tunge xx s oot idem ${ }^{1}$ villata integ ${ }^{8}$ fuit in manib; ver̃ heređ ante forisfc̃ur Et consistit in tenur ${ }^{\mathfrak{a}}$ tenent̃. diusay pgeniez tam litoz $q^{2} m$ Natiuoz̧ de quibz patet inferius primo de litis et postea de Natiuis.

De sexta pte eiusdem rille que consistit in tenur ${ }^{3}$ pgenieij Canō ap Lauwargћ sunt iiij gauelt $\mathfrak{Z}$ dĩa que dum fuer̃ integ ${ }^{3}$ reddiderunt de Tunge iij. s . iiij đ.

Ithel Loit ap Cadug ' pcenar̃ sui quoz noĩa patent in wargћ. Astret Canon teñ hic dĩ gauelł Lauwargћ Vaghan integr̃ re . de Tunge adinuicem p annū f̂mio Oĩm $\mathrm{Scoç}_{\mathrm{t}} \mathrm{iiij}$ đ of ' $\mathfrak{t}$ nulla alia ŝuicia hic quia eo̧̧ ŝuicia una cū ŝuic̃ oĩm alioç de pgenie Canon ap Lauwargћ plene inscribuntr ${ }^{r}$ in villis de Astret Vaghan. Canon.

Caduğ Bottum ap Edeñ 't pcenar̃ sui quoz̧ noĩa patent in Astret Canon teñ dĩ gauelł Ioz ap Canon integre reddendo de


Lauwargt

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh， 1335.

App．Bc．Canon hic reuldendo de Tunge ̂̂mīo Oĩm $\mathrm{S}_{\mathrm{co}}^{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{z}$ v．む．of．Et

Gaũ
Ienn ${ }^{\text {af }} \tilde{f}$ ap
Canon．

Gauelt
Eigñ ap
Canon．

Dī gaũ
Meur ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ap
Canon． Astret Canon teñ dĩ gauelł Meur ap Canon hic integre redđo de Tunge adinuicem ．iiij．đ ot thmio p pac̃o Et $\mathrm{n}^{\natural}$ aliud hic qi Astret Cañ．

Mađ ap Dd ap Eigñ＇t pticipes sui quo̧ nöia patent in

Dī gaũ Nynyat
ap
Canon．
［p．91．］
Dĩ gauelt
Keneuth
ap
Canoñ．
Đ pgenie
Pithle
ap
Lau－ wargh．

Wele
Loz ap
Pithle． nulla fac̃ alia suic̃ hic quia in Astret Canon．Et Acia ps $\mathfrak{t}$ xviija ps eiusdem gauelt hic sunt Escaet̃ đni unde respondetr ${ }^{r}$ inferius．

Ienna ${ }^{\text {f }}$ Loit ap Groñ ap Cadug̃＇t pcenar sui quo̧̧ nõia patent in Astret Canon tenent ij ptes Z quartam ptem 民cie ptis gavelt Eignoñ ap Canon．reddendo de Tunge Imino Oĩm Sc̃oz vj đ of q ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Et nulla alia ŝnic̃ hic quia in Astret Canon＇ tres pt ．iije ${ }^{\text {qt }}$ eiusdem gauelle hic sunt escaet đni unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferiu ${ }^{9}$ c at esc̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ c̃．

Mađ ap Eigñ ap Keñ＇t pcenar̃ sui quoद̆ noĩa patent in Astret Canon teñ duas ptes $\mathfrak{Z}$ 亿ciam ptem $\mathfrak{\text { Pcie }}$ ptis dĩ ganelł Nynyat ap Canoñ redđo de Tunge ？mīo p̂dc̃o iij đ of Et n aliud hic $q$ ，in Astret Canon＇t ij pẽ iij pte eiusđ̉ dĩ gaũ sūt esc̃ đni uñ $r^{r}$ inferi ${ }^{\text {² }}$ ．

Et dî gauelt que fuit Keneûth ap Canon．et que reddd ${ }^{\text {t }}$ de Tunge iiij a hic est pur̃＇t integr̃ escaet̃ đni rone mortuog cont ${ }^{a}$ pacē Et inde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferius cum aliis escaet̃．

De sexta pte eiusdem ville ．que consistit in tenur ${ }^{3}$ pgenieij Pithle ap Lauwargh sunt octo lecta ．que dum fuerunt integr in manibz vere $\hbar e d \bar{u}$ ante conquestum． $\mathfrak{7} \tilde{c}$ ． reddiderunt de Tunge $p$ annū iij．š．iiij．đ．Vidett quodtt lectū ．v．đ．

Inde primū lectū quod fuit Ioz̧ ap Pithle $\mathfrak{z}$ quod reddidit v．đ de Tunge．integr̃ accidit ad man ${ }^{9}$ đni $\tan ^{2} m$ escaet̃
 escaet̃．
non ti domū $\quad$ h；domí
 Elidur tenent medié＇＇quintam ptem de Wele Edenoweñ
ap Pithle redđo de Tunge fmio pac̃o iij đ ot Et np pastu Princ̃ hic q3 soluūt in Ros Ugћdulas. vidett in villa de Tobrith nec aliquod aliud sैuiciũ fac̃ hic neq, ibi nec aliqui alii de ista pgenie nisi pastū Staloñ 't garcơis lucar cū canib; Pennacken 't Waissioñ bagћern. Sc̃đm quod tuerunt domos seu tenentes put alii liti de isto Cōmoto. $7 \nabla^{a}$ ps $7 x^{2}$ ps istius Wele sunt escaet̃ đni Unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferius cum aliis escaet.

Ioz̧ ap Dđ ap Bleth teñ međ $\mathfrak{Z} \nabla^{\text {tam }}$ ptem de Wele Ithon ap Pythle redđo de Tunge ̂̂mio p̂dc̃o .iij. đ of ' tcita shuic̃ ut
 đni Unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ cum aliis escaet̃ inferius.
 Gogћ ap Eignoñ Ieuan ap Dđ ap Keñ Ieun ap Dđ ap Aur̃ nō het dom̃
 Ie $u^{\text {an }}$ I Vaghan ap Ieuáu ap Aur̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ Dauid Vaghan ap Dđ ap Meur ${ }^{\text {a }}$ tenent međ $\mathfrak{z}$ v ptem de Wele Kennyng $\hbar$ ap Pithle Redđo de Tunge fmio p̆dc̃o iij đ ot adinuicem 't ceß̉ şuicia ut $p \tilde{x}$ Wele $\hat{p}$ cedens Et $\nabla^{2} p s{ }^{2} x^{2} p$ s istius ville sunt escae $\tilde{t}$

Wele Kennyg ap
Pythle. [p. 92.] đni Unde respondet ${ }^{\mathbf{r}}$ inferius cum cefis escaetis.
noe $h_{3}$ domū
Hoel ap Dauid ap Doyoke M贝eđ̃ ap Lt ap Meiller̃ Cađ ap Wslhym ap Cad ' Griffuth ap Ioz ap Keñ tenent međ' $\mathfrak{z}$ quintam ptem Wele Cad ap Psthle redđo de Tunge

Wele Cad ap Pythle. adinuicem t̂mio p̀dc̃o iij đ ot i ceโa ŝuicia ut px Wele p̂cedens Et $r^{2} p s{ }^{7} x^{2}$ ps istius Wele sūt escaet̃ đni ut sup ${ }^{2}$. Unde respondetr cum cetis escaetis inferius.

## his domū

habet domū
David Loyt ap Lauwargћ 'z Tuder ap Griff ap Grono tenēt medietatem 't quintam ptem de Wele Edeñ ap Pythle redđo de Tunge adinuicem fimio p̂dc̃o .iij. đ ot Et ceta suricia ut alia lecta $\hat{p}$ cedeñ $\tilde{t}$ t tantam pporcõem escaet $h$; dñs in $i^{a}$ Wele $s^{t}$ in $p \tilde{x}$ Wele peceđ.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Apr. Bc. Dauid ap Griff ap Iennaf tenet med ${ }^{\mathfrak{Z}}$ quintam ptem de Wele Rissard ap Pythle Reddendo de Tunge Pmĩo p̂dc̃o

Wele Rissard ap Pythle. .iij. đ ob et cêa ŝuic̃ ut supa ${ }^{\mathfrak{Z}} \mathrm{v}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{ps}{ }^{7} \mathrm{x}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{p}$ s istius Wele est esc̃ đni unde respondetr inferius cū aliis escaete $\mathfrak{Z} \tilde{c}$.

$$
h_{3} \text { domū } \quad n o ̄ h_{3} \text { domū }
$$

Grono ap Ieuan Goch ap Dehewynd Dauid fra? eius et $\tilde{n}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{h}_{3}$ domū
Madoke ap Meura ap Heylin teñ međ' $\mathfrak{t}$ quintam ptem de
Wele Genythlyn ap Pythle. Wele Genythlyn ap Pithle redđo de Tunge timīo Oĩm Sc̃oz .iij. đ of Et ceta suic̃ ut $\sup ^{a} \mathfrak{Z} v^{a}$ ps $\mathfrak{Z} x^{a}$ ps sunt esc̃ đni unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferius cū aliis escaete $\mathfrak{Z}$ c̃.
[p. 100.] De pastu Princ̃ nichil hic neq, de pastu famut Princ̃ neq, de aliis past̃ $q$, omes tenentes istius ville faciunt hi ${ }^{9}$. suuic̃ in aliis villis ut patet sri $^{\ominus}$ in siğlis locis $\mathfrak{Z}$ villatis $p$ se.

Et scid ${ }^{\text {d }}$ d ppars đni in Prees de escaet̃ mortuoz cont ${ }^{\text {a }}$ pacem. si ver̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ directe pporc̃one ${ }^{r}$ continebit in tris boscis Mt
' vastis in uniûso iij lxj acr xxvij ptic̃.
Et deinde diûsi podar de Lewenny. Astret Canon . Wennennoke Canon . Beryn . Talabryn 't aliunde habent p eoz excamt loco patimōioy suoz in diûsis villatis ab eis captis tempe Comite Lincolñ-Dccclxxix acr̃ $\mathfrak{t x v y}$ ptic̃ terre ' vasti . Et de residuo r ${ }^{r}$ inferi ${ }^{9}$.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

## APPENDIX Bd.

Extents of the Villatce of Dennant, Gmugor, Quilbreyn, Pennaualeth, Penglogor, Hendreuennyth, Prestelegot, and Petrual, where the Progenies of Rand Taghan ap Asser held.

## Rewaynoke Ughalet.

Extenta Commoti de Ughalet facta anno regni Regis Edwardi $\mathfrak{t}$ cii post conquestum viijuo.

Dñs nichil habebit in đnico in Cōmoto de Ughalet nisi escaetas de forisfc̃uris tenencium qui insurrex̃ unt in [p. 152.] guerris $\mathfrak{Z}$ obierunt cont ${ }^{3}$ pacem aut de fris fugitinoz aut alioz tenenciū qui reliquerunt teñ sua in mañ đni $p$ defču releũ vel aliquoç suiciog put inferi ${ }^{9}$ patebit in singuł vilł seu loce ubi aliquales $\hbar i^{9}$ escaet̃ ptinent đ̉no.

Et scienđ est $\mathfrak{q} d$ est quedam pgēies liber tenenc̃ in isto [p. 154.] Cōmoto que rocat ${ }^{r}$ pgenies Rand Vagћ ap Asser̃ que quidem pgenies tenent in diuse villis istius Cōmoti et tenuer̃ tempe Princip̃ añ conquestum vidett totam villatam de Dennantf totam villam de Grugor . totam villam de Quilbreyn . totam villam de Penplogor 't totam rillam de Pennauelet. medie $\tilde{t}$ ville de Hendreuennyth. t ciam ptem ville de Prestegot fciam decimam ptem ville de Pet ${ }^{\text {ual }}$. Et ṑes illas villat̃ 't pcelt villata̧ pedicta̧ tenuerunt in quatuor lectis videft Wele Ruathlon ap Ranđ Wele Idenerth ap Rand Wele Daniel ap Rand 't Wele Kerret ap Rand unde primū Wele diuisum est [p. 155.] in quatuor gauelf ridelic; Gauel Guyon ap Ruathlon Gauel

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh， 1335.

App．Bd．Bletћ ap Ruathł Gauel Kewret ap Ruathlon＇t gauel Madoke

A．D．
1335. ap Ruathlon．Scđm Wele diuiditr in quatuor gauelt vidtz gauel ap Ioz ap Idenerth gauel Madoc ap Idenerth gauel Allot ap Idenerth＇＇Gauel ap Tegwarat ap Idenerth．Rciū Wele diuiditr in duas gauelt vz ．gauel Eigñ ap Daniel gau ${ }^{\ddagger}$ Cađ ap Daniel Et quartum lectū quod est ultimū diuiditr in ij gauelt videl $3^{\prime}$ gauelt Griffr ap Kewret＇t gauel Kenewreke ap Kewret．Et sequitr de pporc̃ tenur̃＇t suic̃ cuiustt Wele＇t cuiustt eius gauelt in singut villate seriatim $p$ se $\mathfrak{t}$ de $\mathfrak{p} p$ porc̃ esc̃ đni in singlis lece＇$t$ gauelt scdm ut statim patebit in postę．

## Villata de Dennante．

Ken ap Bletћ Vaghan Ioz ap Lewelyn ap Bleth Ken ． ap Lewelyn ap Bleth Ken ．ap Bleth Loyd $\mathfrak{Z}$ Howel ap Bleth Loid tenent in？se duas gauelt de primo lecto integro $\mathrm{v}_{3}$ gauelt Guyon ap Rauthlon＇t gauelt Bleth ap Rauthlon＇t reddunt in l se de Tunge adinuicem $\mathrm{Pmīo}$ Oïm Sc̃oz ij s ．viij đ $q^{\text {a }}$ ．vz．xij đ in Dennant ．v．đ ob qa in Grugor ．v．đ in Quilbreyn．$j$ đ o屯 $q^{2}$ in Penplogor j．đ ob $q^{\text {a }}$ in Pennaualet． iij a in Hendreuennyth ．ij đ of in Prestlegot ${ }^{\prime}$ ob $q^{\text {a }}$ in Petrual．Reddunt eciam adinuicē $p$ pastu Princ̃ p annū p omibz villis placis vj ş．ad Natat Dni．ij š Pmīo Medie $x^{\text {me }}$ ．xvj．đ．Pmīo Nat̃ sc̃i Ioћis Bap̃te．xvj đ et Pmīo Exalt̃ sc̃e Cruce ．xvj đ．Et fac̃ alia ŝuicia in cõi cum aliis lī̄is de
［p．156．］Commoto que patebunt inferius in fine Cōmoti．
Bleth ap Yeuan ap Madok tenet Cciam ganelt eiusdem lecti integr̃．Redđo de Tunge Tmïo Oīm Sc̃oz xvj．đ．Vidett vj．đ in Dennant ．ij đ oも qa in Grugor ．ij đ of in Quilbreyn ． ō $q^{\text {a }}$ in Penplogor．ob qa dï in Pennaualet $j$ đ oも in Hendreu－ ennyth $j$ đ $q^{a}$ in Prestlegot＇$q^{\text {a }}$ dĩ in Petrual．Reddit $\tilde{t}$ p
 ad Natał Dni ix đ．＇t quott alio ？ $\mathrm{Pmīo} v j$ đ．Et fac̃ alia ŝuic̃ cum aliis liber in cõi ut infra．

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Ioz ap Dd ap Mađ Keñ ap Bletћ ap Grono . Ken . ap Ioz̧ ap Tuder̃ Eden. ap Lauwar̃ ap Tuder̃ ' Bleth frâ eius tenent totam quartam gauelt eiusdem lecti $\hat{p}$ inde $x v j$. ptem que est
 Uñ v. đ of $q^{3}$ in Dennant $j$. đ of $q^{3}$ in Grugor ij đ ob in Quilbreyn . ot $q^{a}$ in Penplogor . ob $q^{2}$ dĩ in Pennaualet.j. d. ot in Hendreuennyth j. đ of in Prestlegot 't qa dĩ in Petrual . Et p pastu Princip̃ p $a^{m}$ vij. s .vj. đ. ad quatuor $\mathfrak{t} m i ̄ o s ~ p ̂ d c ̃ o s ~$ Vidett ad Natat Dni ij. s. .rj. đ. ' q quott alio fmio .xx. đ. 'z ceta şuic̃ cum aliis in côi ut infra.

Eigñ Loid ap Io द̧ Grugor ap Bleth Routh fř eius 't Io̧̧ frâ eius tenent primam gauelt sc̃di lecti que quidem gau vocat ${ }^{r}$ gauelt $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{c}}^{\mathrm{z}}$ ap Idenerth integr̃. reddendo de Tunge Rmīo Oĩm Sc̃oz xvj. đ. Unde .vj. đ . in Dennant ij đ of q $q^{3}$ in Grugor ij. đ ot in Quilbreyn . of $q^{\mathrm{a}}$ in Penplogor . ot $q^{\mathrm{a}}$ dĩ in Pennaualet.$j$. đ ob in Hendreuennyth $j$ a $q^{\text {a }}$ in Prestlegot 't q dĩ in Petrual. 't p pastu Princ̃ .vij s .j. đ. ad quatuor §mios phdc̃os. Unde ad Festum Natał Dni ij. s̃ .iiij đ. 'quolt alio t̂mīo .xix đ' $\mathfrak{t}$ ceta ŝuič cū at in cõi ut inf ${ }^{2}$.

Et phdc̃i Eigñ Loid ' Bleth ' Iog fres ei ${ }^{9}$ tenent ij p $\mathfrak{z}$ sc̃de gauelt eiusdem lecti que rocatr Gau Madoke ap Idenerth redđo de Tunge ẗmīo Oïm Sc̃oz .x. đ. ot . Unde .iij. đ q a $^{\text {a }}$ in Dennant .ij đ in Grugor .ij đ in Quilbreyn of in Penglogor . $q^{3}$ in Pennaualet.$j$ d $q^{3}$ in Hendreuennyth $j$ d $q^{3}$ in Prestlegot ${ }^{7} q^{\mathbf{a}}$ in Petrual . Et p pastu Princip p annū .xv. đ ob ad quatuor t̂mios p̂dc̃os Cnde ad Nat̃ Dni.v. đ. '̇ quott alio โmio .iij. đ ot . Et cet̃a shuic̃ in cõi ut infra.

Bleth ap Ken ap Madoke tenet medief fcie ptis eiusdem gauelt redđo de Tunge Êmīo Oĩm $\mathrm{Sc̃oz} \cdot j$ đ . of $q^{3}$. Unde ot in Dennant. $q^{3}$ in Grugor . $q^{\text {a }}$ in Quilbreyn. dĩ $q^{3}$ in Penplogor. dĩ $q^{3}$ in Pemnaualet. $q^{3}$ in Hendreuennyth $q^{\text {a }}$ in Prestlegrot ' $t$ nichil in Petrual. Et $p$ pastu Princ̃ p annū ij. đ of ad quatuor ťmios pldictos ridełt ad Nat̃ Dni j. đ. $\mathfrak{Z}$ quoft alio t̂mio of 't cet̀a ŝuicia ut infra. Et alt̂a mediet

## Extracts from Extent of Denligh， 1335.

Apr．Bd．eiusdem $\mathfrak{T c}$ cie ptis gauelf est escae $\tilde{t}$ đni $\mathfrak{Z}$ tenetr in acr cum

A．D．
1335. cetis escaete inferius．

Item phdcus Bleth ap Keñ ap Mađ＇t Eigñ ap Yeuan ap Iog．Eignon ap Mad ap Ieuan＇${ }^{\text {a }}$ Dauid ap Heilyn ap $\operatorname{Ioz}$ tenent quartam ptem tcie gauelt que vocat ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ gauelt Allet ap Idenerth ． redđo de Tunge ．iiij．đ timīo Oĭm Sẽoz Uñ j．đ ${ }^{\text {q }} q^{\text {a }}$ in Den－ nant ．of $q^{a}$ in Grugor ．of $q^{a}$ in Quilbreyn ．dĩ $q^{a}$ in Penplogor．dĩ qa in Pennaualet．$q^{a}$ in Hendreuennyth．of in Prestlegot ${ }^{7} q^{q}$ in Petrual．Et $p$ pastu Princ̃ $p a^{m}$ ij s̃ of ad quatuor $\mathfrak{I m}$ ios p̂dc̃os．Unde ad Natał Dni ．viij．đ＇$q$ quolt alio t̂mio ．v．đ ot＇t ceta ŝuic̃ cum aliis in cõi ut infá ．Et ．iij． pte eiusdem gavelł sunt esc̃ đni uñ $r^{r}$ int̂ acr̃ inferi ${ }^{2}$ ．

Bleyth ap Eigñ Voil ap Iog tenet．ij．pẽ quarte gauelt eiusdem lecti que vocat ${ }^{r}$ gauel Tegwaret ap Idenerth red－ dendo de Tunge ．x．đ ob $q^{\text {a }}$ ．Unde ．iij．đ $q^{\text {a }}$ in Dennant j．đ o屯 q ${ }^{\text {a }}$ in Grugor ij đ in Quilbreyn ．of in Penplogor ．
［p．158．］$q^{a}$ in Pennaualet j．a $q^{a}$ in Hendreuennyth ．j．a ot in Prestlegot＇$\neq q^{a}$ in Petrual．Et p past Princ̃ p annū ．v．s ix．đ ．ad quatuor fmios pac̃os．Videłt ad Natał Dni
 cõi ut infra．Et f̂cia ps istins gauelt est escaet đni $\mathfrak{Z} r^{r}$ inde int $\mathfrak{P}$ ri inferius．

Iog ap Ieuan ap Keneûth．Tuder fr eius．Yeuan ap Edeñ ap Mad．Ken．frat eius．Griffith ap Tuder ap Mad． Edeñ Grono＇t Yenaf fr̃es eius Io द̌ ap Eigñ ap Iǫ Eignoñ Gogh ap Bd ap Eigñ．Ittí＇t Ken．fres eius tenent septem ptes＇．lxiiijtaj ptem prime gauelle $\mathfrak{\text { Rcii lecti ．que quidem }}$ gauella vocatr gauel Eignoin ap Danyel ．reddo de Tunge そ̂mīo Oĩm Scoğ ij．š ．iiij．đ oも Uñ ．xj．đ ob in Dennant ．v．đ $q^{a}$ in Grugor ．v．đ $q^{a}$ in Quilbreyn ．j．đ $q^{a}$ in Penplogor ．j．đ $q^{a}$ in Pennaualet ．ij．$đ q^{a}$ in IIendreuennyth.$j$ ．$đ$ in Prestlegot＇t of $q^{a}$ in Petrual．Et p pastu Princ̃ pannū ．vij．š ．v．đad iiijor $\mathfrak{f} m i=0$ p̂dictos videłt ad Natat Pni ij．ş ．v．đ．＇t quott alio t̂mio xx．đ．Et cet̂a ŝuic̃ cum aliis in cõi

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

ut infra. Et. viija ps . eiusdem ganelt est esc̃ đni $\hat{p} \hat{p}$ inde Apr. Bd. riij ${ }^{\text {am }}$ ptem. $\mathfrak{Z}$ respondet ${ }^{r}$ inde inferius int firm acr̃ $\mathfrak{t} \tilde{c}$.

Item Dd ap Ioz ap Cadugan. Bleth ap Ioz Vaghan ap
A.D.
1335. Ioz̧ Grono ap Keneùth ap Ioz Mađ frat eius Bleth ap Mađ ap Ioz̧. Keñ frat̃ eius Dauid ap Mađ̉Duy ap Ioz̨ Z Mađ Loyd frai eius tenent in $\mathfrak{\imath}$ [se] quartam ptem. 'Z riijam ptem sc̃de gavelle eiusdem lecti que rocatr gauel Cad ap Danyel. redđo
 .ij đ $q^{a}$ in Grugor .ij đ $q^{a}$ in Quilbreyn. $q^{2}$ dĩ in Penglogor . $q^{\text {a }}$ dĩ in Pennaualet.$j$. đ in Hendreuennyth .j. đ in Prestlegot . ' of in Petrual. Et p past Princ̃ p annū. iij. s .ij. đ q ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ad [p. 159.] .iiij. t̀mios phdcos videft ad Natat Dni .xij. đ. of q $q^{3}$. et quolt alio t̂mīo .riij. đ ot 't cet̂a ŝuicia in cõi cum aliis infra. Et medit eiusdem gauelt est esc̃ đni 't respondet ${ }^{\text {r }}$ inde inferius int̀ firm acr̃. Et viija ${ }^{\text {p }}$ s eiusdem gauelt est in mañ đni a tempe Comite Lincolñ que fuit Keñ ap JN dith ap Iozz qui utlagat̃ fuit $p$ feloñ ' $\mathfrak{c}$. Et allocat ${ }^{r}$ illa ps filiis Yeuan ap Lauwargh liڤo de Lewenny in excarnt p hereditat̃ sua itm.

Item de quarto lecto quod diuiditr${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ in duas gauelt . prima gauelt que rocatr ${ }^{r}$ Gauelt Griffri ap Keuret est penit ${ }^{9}$ in mañ đni $\mathfrak{Z}$ pur̃ Esc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ respondetr inde inferius in $\mathfrak{\imath}$ firmas acray. ' $\mathfrak{c}$.

Item Keñ ap Lauwar̃ ap Keĩ. C'aduc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ Yeuan fr̃es eius tenent quinq, ptes sĉde gauelle eiusdem lecti que vocatr ${ }^{r}$ gauel Keñ ap Keuret. redđo de Tunge Emio Oĩm Sñoz ij ş
 .x. đ $q^{a}$ in Quilbreyn . ot dĩ $q^{a}$ in Penglogor . ot $q^{a}$ in Pennanalet .j. đ ot $q^{2}$ in Hendreuennyth ij d in Prestlegote 'z of dĩ qa in Petrual Et p pastu Princ̃ p annū vij. s .x. đ . ad
 alio $\mathfrak{t m i o}$.xxj d. Z ceĩa suicia in cõi cum aliis ut infra. Et $\mathrm{vj}^{\text {ta }} \mathrm{ps}$ eiusdem gauelle est esc̃ $\neq n i$ uñ $r^{r}$ inferius int firmas acr̃.
ss Sma $^{\mathbf{a}}$ Tunge pgenieij Rand in diuse rillat Commoti

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

App. Bd. de Ughalet pannum Pmino Oĩm Sc̃ǫ̧.xiiij. s .v. đ ỗ qã. A.D. De quibus extahendi sunt $a b$ ista $s^{2}$ hic ${ }^{7} t$ ponend in aliis 1335. villatis put pbatr supius in peelt singulag gauellag-ix s . j đ oも $q^{\text {a }}$.
s̃s Et sic restat $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ tocius Tunge villate de Dennant $\mathbf{p}$ annum-v. s.iiij. đ.

Natał Dni . xvj s . viij đ $q^{a}$

 (Ex̃ sc̃e Cruce. xj š. iij đ oも.)

## Villata de Grugor.

Tota villata de Grugor que cont de tris ' $\mathfrak{t}$ vastis .CCClviij. acr̃ dí 't dĩ rođ consistit in tenur ${ }^{2}$ pgenieij Rand Bagћ ap Asser in iiijor lecte ut ps supius in Dennant et eoz̧ ŝuic

Wele Rauthloĩ ap Rand.

Wele
Iderneth ap Ranđ. plenius patent in ptičlis supius in Demmant. Unde pgenies Rauthlon ap Rand quo̧̧ noĩa iuscribuntr siri $^{9}$ in Dennant teñ hic int se ut paty supius:'totū Wele Rauthlon ap Rand quod consistit in iiijor gauelt . reddendo de Tunge put patz itm in
 in Dennant Et dñs nullam het escaet̃ in isto Wele.

Item Wele Idenerth ap Rand quod consistit ptiz in iiijor gauelt : pgeies pedicti Idenerth quoz noĩa plenius patent in Dennant tenēt unam gauelł integĩ $\mathfrak{q}$ quinq, ptes sc̃de gauelł 't quartam ptem Pcie gauelf't eciam duas ptes quarte gauelle. Reddendo de Tunge int se hic put pleni ${ }^{9}$ patet in ptičlis sepate in Dennant vija. ob ' ' ceta shuic in Dennant Et sic
 quarta ps istius gauelle est escaẽ̃ đni Unde respondet ${ }^{\text {r }}$ inferius ${ }^{7}$ c.
Wele
Daniel ap Rand.

Item de Wele Danyel ap Rand quod consistit in ij gauelt !' pgenies phdicti Danyel quo̧ noĩa patent in Dennant tenent septem ptes prime grauelt 't mediet sc̃de gauelt Red-

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

dendo de Tunge put pat; in ptičlis in Dennant .rij đ ot. Et ceta sैuic̃ in Dennant. Et sic quarta ps $\mathfrak{Z}$. xvja ps istius Wele aut mediet 't riija ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ps uni ${ }^{9}$ gauelt est esc̃ đni Cnde respondetr inferius ${ }^{7}$ c.

Item de Wele Keuret ap Rand quod consistit in .ij. gauelf pgêies dicti Keuret quo弓 noĩa patent in Dennant tenent quinque ptes istius gauelle. reddendo de Tunge put pat; in [p. 162.] ptic in Dennant.r. đ q ${ }^{\mathfrak{z}} \mathfrak{\tau}$ cet̃a şuic̃ in Dennant Et sic̃ $m e^{\text {® }}$ ' $\mathrm{p}^{\text {ts }} \mathrm{ps}$ alfius medietate istius Wele ant eciam.$j$. ganlt. integr ${ }^{\text {'t }}$ rja ${ }^{\text {ta }}$ ps altitius gavelł sunt esc̃ đni Cñ respondet ${ }^{r}$ infer ${ }^{9}$.

Sman Tunge de Grugor .ij s.rj đ $\mathrm{q}^{\mathrm{a}}$.
Et erit ̂̂porc̃o escaete đni de f̂ris bosce 'z raste forisfc̃is in Grugor s̃cđm reram pporcõem .Cviij. acr̃ j. rođ ' $\mathfrak{t}$.xij. ptic̃ De quib; allocantr [ $\$ \mathrm{c}]$

> Villata de Quilbreyn.

Et scienđ q̃d tota villata de Quilbreyn consistit in tenura pgenieij Rand Tagћ supius in quatuor lectis Et quodft lectū diuiditr in tot gauellis ' totidem pporcõib; ' f p easdem pporcões accidit escaeta đni sicut in Dennant rel Grugor supius. Et cont dẽa rillata in fris bosce '7 vaste. Mỉ Clxriij. acr̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$.iij. rođ unde sequit ${ }^{\text {r }}$ primo de ŝuic viuo̧ $\mathfrak{z}$ eoz tenur̃ $\mathfrak{z}$ postea de $\tilde{\mathrm{t}} \tilde{\mathrm{r}}$ mortuo ${ }^{\text {c }}$ cont ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ pacem. que sunt escaeta đni $\mathfrak{Z} \tilde{c}$.

Pgenies Rauthlon ap Rand quo̧ nõia patent in Dennant tenent tot $\bar{u}$ Tele Rauthlon ap Rand in iiijor gauelt . reddendo de Tunge.x. đ 'z cet̂a ŝuic̃ in Dennant Et nulla est escaeta in isto Wele.

Item ̣genies Idenerth quoç noĩa patent in Dennant tenent $q^{\text {ai }}$ medietatem 7 .iij. ptes quarte ptis de Wele phdči Idenerth quod ptitr in .iijor. gauellis. reddendo de Tunge int se rij đ of ' t ceta surc in Dennant. Et sic quarta ps istius Wele 't quarta ps altius quarte ptis eiusdem sūt esc̃ đni . Vĩ r ${ }^{r}$ inferius.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh， 1335.

Apr．Bd．Item pgenies Danyel ap Rand quo̧̧ noĩa patent in Dennant
A．D． 1335.
［p．164．］Et est ppars đni in villa de Quilbreyn ．CCCliij．acir ．ix． tenent medie $\tilde{t}$＇t iij ptes quarte ptis istius Wele redado de Tunge hic vij đ of＇t cela ŝuic̃ in Dennant．Et iiijta ps＇t .$x v j{ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ ．ps istius Wele est esc̃ đ̉ni Unde respondetr inferius．

Item pgenies Keuret ap Rand quoz noĩa patent in Dennant tenent vj ．ptes medietatis istius Wele reddendo de Tunge hic ．v．đ qa $\mathfrak{t}$ cet̂a ŝuic in Dennant Et sic mediẽ $\mathfrak{t}$ vja ${ }^{\text {ta }} \mathrm{ps}$ altius medietatis istius Wele est escae？đni．Unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferius．
 ptic̃ dĩ que appruantr inferius．

Villata de Pennaualeth．
［p．165．］Villata de Pennaualet que cont̃ in $\mathfrak{\text { Pr}}$ r bosc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ vaste ．vij lj acr̃ dî consistit in omibz porcõib；in tenura pgenieij Rand ap Asser Et in tot lecte $\mathfrak{z}$ tot gauelt sicut $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{x}$ villat $\mathfrak{p}$ cedens de Quilbreyn Et ō̄es P’dar̃ qui tenent in Dennant $\mathfrak{t}$ Grugor＇t Quilbreyn tenent hic in quatuor lectis ut ibi Et redđ de Tunge int̂ se pannū t̂mio Oĩm Sc̃oz ．vij đő ．Unde Priodar̃ de Wele Rauthlon ap Ranđ ．iij đ ő̉．Phodar̃ de Wele Idenerth ap Rand $j$ d of＇ $\mathfrak{t}$ dí $q^{\text {a }}$ ．Priodar̃ de Wele Daniel ap Rand j d ob＇ $\mathfrak{t}$ dĩ qa ${ }^{\text {＇}}$ P Priodar̃ de Wele Keuret ap Ranđ．oも q ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ．Et ceł̂a ŝuic̃ in Dennant Et sunt escaet̃ đni hic $q^{\text {a }}$ i unū Wele＇t viija．ps ${ }^{\text {＇t }}$ xija ${ }^{a}$ ps istius Wele que continent quartam ptem ${ }^{\prime}$ xxxij ${ }^{\text {dam }}$ ptem ${ }^{\prime}$ xlviijam ${ }^{\text {am }}$ ptem istius ville．
§̃s $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ Tunge de Pennaualet im īo Oĩm Sc̃oz ．vij đ ob．
Et sic est porc̃o escaet̃ đni in villa de Pennaualet s̃cđm pticipacõem directam ．CCxxvij．acr̃ ．ij．ptic̃ dî．

If quib；allocantr ${ }^{r}$ diûse Priodar̃ de Arquedloke Hano－ dreg九haith in excamb $p$ eo弓＇iちm ．Cxlviij acr̃ dï Et xv acr tre arentant ${ }^{r}$ ut patebit inferius．

[^176]
## Villata de Penglogor.

Tota villata de Penglogor consistit in tenura p̀dc̃e pgeũ Rand ap Asser in tot lecte sicut $\mathrm{px}^{a}$ villata pcedens Et iideru qui tenent villat de Dennant. Grugor . Quilbrern . et Pennaualet tenent int̂ se totam istam villatam $\hat{\mathrm{p} t}$ porcõem escaet̃ đni ut pat; inferius ' $\begin{aligned} & \text { reddunt per annū de Tunge } \mathrm{Zmio} o ~\end{aligned}$ Oĩm Sc̃oz rij đ of. Unde Preodar̃ de Wele Ruathon ap Rand .iij đ q ${ }^{\text {a }}$. Priodar̃ de Wele Ilenerth ap Rand ij. đ . Priodar̃ de Wele Daniel ap Rand ij đ ot dĩ qa ${ }^{\text {ºt Priodar̃ de }}$ Wele Keuret ap Rand of $\mathfrak{Z}$ dĩ qia Et facient ceta ŝuic̃ in Dennant. Et quarta ps 7 .xxxij ${ }^{\text {dr }}$. p: 7 xlviija ${ }^{\text {a }}$ s istius ville est escaet̃ đ̉ni uñ $r^{r}$ inferius.
 $-\mathrm{vij}^{\mathrm{d}}$ ob.

Et cont̃ tota villata de Penglogor .Cxxriij. acẽ Et inde ppars escaet̃ đni cont̃ de ̂̂re 'Z vaste. $\mathfrak{Z}$ c̃ .xxxriij. acr̃ di $\mathfrak{Z}$ xxvj ptic̃ dimiđ.

Villata de Hendreuennyth.
Villata de Hendreuennyth cont in tris vaste . CCix acr̃ iij. rođ cuiu: medief consistit in tenura pgẽii Rand Vaghan supius in .iiijor. lecte ' t alia mediet est de tenura pgenieij Rees Gogh in $j^{\circ}$. lecto. Unde primo sequitr${ }^{\mathbf{r}}$ de pparte prima ${ }^{\text {'t }} . \mathrm{ij}^{\mathrm{do}}$. de $\mathrm{ij}{ }^{\mathrm{da}}$.

D mediet villate de Hendreuennyth que consistit in pgenie Rand Eadem pgenies tenet medietatem illam pt inde escaef ut patebit inpostez in tot lecte ' t tot gauelt put tenent in Dennant vel aliis villatis p̂dicte Et reddunt de Tunge in $\mathfrak{l}$ se put patet $p$ ptic̃las specificatas $\tilde{s}^{2}{ }^{\circ}$ in Dennant .xv đ of . Et fac̃ cet̃a suicic in Demnant $\mathfrak{t}$ c̃ . Et reddidit ista medietas de Tunge $p$ annū dum fuit integr̃ in mañ p̈dicí pgeñ .xx. đ.
ss $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ Tunge pgeñ Rand Vagt hic-xv đ ot.

# Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335. 

## Villata de Prestelegote.

Apr. Bd.
A.D. 1335. [p. 169.]

Ppars pgēiei Rand Vagћ.

Villata de Prestlegote que uniusalị contz .DCxxx. acr̃ Pre bosc̃ 't vast̃ fuit ptit̃ in .iij. ptes. Uñ pima Pcia ps consistit in tenura pgeniei Ranđ Vagh 't reddidt illa Pcia ps dū fuit intega in tenura illius pgēiei .xx. đ . p annū . Et alia P̂cia ps consistit in tenura pgēiei Idenertñ que sitr dū fuit integr̃ $\tilde{r}$ de Tunge .xx. đ. Et ultīa Rcia ps fuit in tenura pgèiei Keneuerch ap Maer ' $\mathfrak{z}$ c̃. que sitr $\tilde{r}$ de Tunge dū fuit integr̃ .xx. đ. p annū. Et om̃s phdc̃e pgeñ sūt libe. Uñ seq ${ }^{\text {r }}$ distinct̃o $p^{1} m o$ de $p^{i} m a ~ p g e ̄ i e . ~ s c ̃ d o ~ d e ~ s c ̃ d a . ~ E ̃ t o ~ d e ~ P t i a . ~$

Pgeñ Ranđ Vagћ quǫ noĩa patent in Dennante ts hic in .iiij. lec̃̃ $p^{\mathbb{I}}$ mã ppartem istius ville. Vidtt fciam ptem excep $\tilde{t}$ inde .iiijta. pte 't .xxxijda . pte' $\mathfrak{x l v i i j a}$ pte que sūt escaễ đni r̃one mortuoz̧ cont ${ }^{a}$ pacem. Et reddūt phdc̃i Priodar̃ nūc de Tunge inl se pannū 凤ĩo Oĩm Sc̃oz put pz p pcelt distinct in Dennante .xiiij. đ q ${ }^{a}$. Et $n^{\frac{1}{1}}$ aliud hic q, in Dennant supius.
[p. 171.]
s̃s Sma $^{\text {a }}$ Tunge de Prestlegote .iij s ij d.

Et scia $q^{đ}$ de $p^{\text {íma }}$ Ccia pte villate de Prestlegote que est de tenura pgēiei Ranđ Vagћ ptinent đno de escaet̃ 't c̃. sc̃dam ${ }^{1}$ veram pticipacõm de ̂̂ris bosc̃ ' t vaste lxiij acr̃ dĩ j. rođ dĩ't .x. ptic̃.
Distinct̃o escaete.

It̃m de.$i j^{\text {da }}$. pparte eiusđ̉m ville que est de tenura triū lecto̧ Madoke ap Identh. Heilyn ap Ideñth 't Eigñ ap Ideñth ptinent đno de escaet̃. Cj. acr̃ dĩ't .iiij. ptic̃ fre bosc̃ 't vast̃.

It̃m de ultia pparte eiusđtm ville que est de tenura Keneüth ap Maer 't Res ap Hunyth ptinēt đno eodm mo .lxxij. acr̃ j. rođ dĩ 't .x. ptic̃. Et sic est sma tocius escaet̃

[^177]Extracts from Extent of Denkigh, 1335.

C
 iposterū.

Villata de Petrual.
Villata de Petrual que cont; .M ${ }^{\ddagger}$.C.lxx acr̃ . consistit in .xiij. lectis litooz de quibz statim patebit in posterū. Vidft de quott lecto $\ddagger$ se.

Priodar̃ de pgēie Ranđ Vagћ quoz noìa patent in Dennant tenent hic tantam ptem in .iiij. lect $q^{2} n t a m$ tenent srius in Dennant. In tenent hic qai p uno lecto yuod vocat ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Wele Wiryon Ranđ. ̂̃ciam decīam ptem istius ville. Redđo de Tunge hic put ps in ptičlis specificate in Dennant .iiij. d. ob
 stius in Dennant. Et $q^{2}$ uis reddant hic plenū Tunge : $^{\ddagger} \mathrm{n}^{\ddagger}{ }^{9}$
 đni . sic̃ de eǫ̧ tenura in aliis villis. Et iñ r̃ndetr inferius cū ceteris escaete ' c c.


APP. H d. A.D. 1335.

Wele
Wyrion Rand.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

## APPENDIX B e.

Extent of the Villata of Wickwere with the Hamlets of Boydroghyn and Kimayl, in which the Wele of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk: held.

> Roos Ysdulas.

Apr. Be. Extenta Cōmot̃ de Roos Ysdulas fc̃̃a a ${ }^{0}$. Rege Ee iijcii. p ${ }^{9}$ A.D. cō ${ }^{\text {g }} . v i i j{ }^{\circ}$.

1330̆. Scienđ q̃a dũs nichil hebit de veさ̀i döico nūc in đnico suo [p. 201.] ni Maneriū de Dynnorbyn Vaur quod extenditri inferius in serie Cōmof̃ cū villat de Dỵnnorbỵn Vaur ut inferi ${ }^{9}$ patebit in suo cursu $\mathfrak{t}$ c̃.

> Villata de Wyckewere cū suis Hamellis de Boydrogtiyn © Kílmayl.

Villata de Wyckwere cū Hamelł de Boydrogłiyn $\ddagger$ Kylmayl consistebat tempibz $\mathrm{P}^{i} n c i p u \bar{u}$ ante conquestū in octo lectis. Unde .vj. leč̈ fuerūt in õibz locis phdẽis vidtt in Wyckewere Boydroghyn 't Kylmayl. Et de hiis .vj. lecte unū lectū fuit penit ${ }^{9}$ in tenura libog quod rocatr Wele Lauwargh ap Kendelyke. Secundū lectu consistit vidtt due ptes in tenura liboy ' ' Ccia ps in tenura Natĩoz quod lectū vocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Morythe.
 ps in teurura Natïoz quod quidē lectū vocatr Wele Peidytti Mogh.

Cetua tria lecta de p̈dčis vj. lectis fuerunt integre in tenura Natioç. Unde p ${ }^{i} \mathrm{~m}$ ū lectū vocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Breynte. Secundū lectū vocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Meynon et $\mathfrak{\text { Pciū vocat }}$ Wele Bothloyn 't duo ultia lecta de plec̃is viij. lectis:'fuerunt tantūmodo
in villa de Boydroghyn $\mathfrak{Z}$ consistūt pēit ${ }^{9}$ in tenura Natĩoz . Unde $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{i} m \mathrm{~m}}$ lectū vor Wele Anergћ Cuyrdyon, et šcđm lectū vocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Thlowthon. Unde sequit ${ }^{r}$ de quott lecto
 deinde de p̂porcõib; đ̈ni que sibi attingunt ptim rane tenenciū
 in Pcio gadu ṽl infra ̂̉ciū gadū ' $\mathfrak{z c}$.

De pimo lecto quod consistit tôlit in tenura litoç $\mathfrak{z}$ quod est in $\begin{aligned} & \text { miby } \\ & \text { vilf ' } \\ & \text { ' hamelf funt tria lecta seu tres gauelle }\end{aligned}$ vidtt Wele Rissharđ ap Lauwargћ. Wele Moridyke ap Law ${ }^{\text {h }}$ et Wele Kandalo ap Lauwargh, et sequitr ${ }^{\mathrm{p}} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{mo}$ : de primo, sc̃do: de sc̃do, ťcio: de treio $\mathfrak{\text { t č. }}$.

De Wele Risshard ap Lauwargh fiunt tres gauelt, vidtt gauelt Madoke ap Risshard gauelt Kiendalo ap Rissharđ $\mathfrak{t}$ Gauelt Keñ ap Rissharđ.

Gronou ap Madoke Vaghan. Eynon Routh fre eius Heilyn ap Eynon ap Rissharđ. Heilyn ap Groñ ap Eynon Bleth 'z Ithel fres eius 't Heilyn ap Eynon Gogh tenent gauelt Madoke ap Risstrard integr̃ redđo de Tunge int se $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. tỉo oĩm Sc̃oद .viij. đ. Et p past̃ Pincipis ad Nat̃ Dni .xij. đ. Međ .xle . vj. đ Et ad fm Nat Sc̃i Iohis Bapt̃ . vij. đ. ob . Et ad fm Exaltacõis sc̃e Crucis .rj. đ. Et facient cet̂a ŝuicia cū aliis litis istius Cōmot in cõi de quib; patebit in fiñ isti ${ }^{=}$Cōmet int ${ }^{t}$ cões consuet̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ c̃.

Madoke ap Heilyn ap Howel. Ithel ap Iǫ ap Keudalo Griff 't Tuder fres eius. Dauid ap Kendalo ap Ioz̧. Dauid Vaghan ap Dauid ap Iog 7 Tuder $\mathrm{fr}_{\mathrm{r}}$ eius tenent gauelt Kendalo ap Risshard integr̃ redđo int̃ se de Tunge ťio p̂dc̃o .v. đ ot. Et cet̃a ŝnic̃ in oïbs ut (Ganelt $p \tilde{x}$ p̂cedens.

Keñ Taghan ap Keñ ap Madoke. Ernon fr eius. Iǫ̨ ap Madoke ap Ioz Iu fr eims. Danid Loyd ap Kendalo. Ioz fr eius. Mađ ap Keñ ap Eynon. Danid 't $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{z}}^{\mathrm{Z}}$ fres eins. Madoke ap Danid ap Ernon. Aıla 7 Dauid fres eius 7 p̂dc̃us Heilyn ap Ernon ap Risshard ' nepotes sui supius in gauelf Maduke

## Eutracts from Extent of Denbigh， 1335.

Apr．Be．tenent tres ptes gauelt Keñ ap Rissharđ redđo int se de Tunge

## A．D．

 1335.Gauelt
Keñ ap Riss－ hard．

Wele vel Gauelt Moridyk ad Lau－ wargћ．
 Međ ．xle ．iiij．đot．tio Nã̃ sc̃i Io末is Bappte ．v．đ ob q ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ．Et t̂io Exalt̃ sc̃e Crucis ．iiij．đ．oも．Et facient cela ŝuicia in cõi ut $\sup ^{\mathrm{a}}$ ．Et q$q^{\text {arta }} \mathrm{ps}$ istius gavelt est escaeta dni．Unde r̃nebitr inferius cū ceitis escaetis．

It̃m de sc̃clo Wele quod est extractū de Wele Lauwargh ap Kendalyke et quod supius nūcupatr Wele Moridyke ap Lauwargh nulla ext ${ }^{\text {ha hit }}{ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ gauelt ideo dicit ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ id idem Wele nisi ut una gauelt unde Kendalo ap Madoke ap Eynon．Eynon ap Groñ ap＇＇rriff．Lauwargћ fr eius．Ioz ap Lauwargh ap Griff＇t Madoke ap Heylyn ap Griff tenent gauelt Moridyke ap Lauwargh integr̃ $\tilde{r}$ de Tung int se ．xij．đ．ot ．$q^{2}$ ．Et $p$ past Pincipis ad Nat̃ Bni ．xij．đ．sc̃do Pio vj．đ．Pcio Pĩo－ ．vij．đ ．ot ．Quarto ̂̊io ．vj．đ．Et facient cela ŝuicia in cõi ut supa．

It̃̃ de tecio Wele exacto de Wele Lauwargћ ap Kendelyk fiunt due gauelt vidtt Gauella Ioz ap Kendalo 7 Gauelt Dauid ap Kendalo que đr Gauelt Kyloen ut statim subsequit ${ }^{\text {r }}$ ．

Groñ ap Eynon ap Madoke．Eynon ap Iož＇Iu fães eius
Gaũ Ioz ap
Kendalu． t Heilyn ap Eynon ap Howel tenent gauelt Io̧̧ ap Kendalo integr̃ redđo de Tunge inश se 民ǐo phc̃o ．viij．đ．Et p past̃ Pincipis $p a^{m}$ ad Nat̃ Bni $\mathfrak{t}$ quott $a^{0}$ tĩo．

It̃o Ithel ap Eynon ap Kendalo＇ $\mathfrak{Z}$ Phelip fr ei ${ }^{9}$ tenent Gaũ ．vjtā．ptem ganelie Kyloen redđo de Tunge lio phdẽo．j．đ．ot． Kyloen Et p past̃ lincipis $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ ．pimo fĩo．ij．đ．sc̃̃o tìio j．đ $q^{\mathrm{i}}$ ．＇t



De duab；ptibj sc̃di lecti quod vocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Moroythe ．

Pporc̃o litioy de Wele Mo－ roytt． quod est in villa de Wickewere $\mathfrak{q}$ hamelt de Kilmayl $\mathfrak{t}$ Boydroghyn sunt quar vidtt due gauelt Meiller ap Morroyth Z due gauelt Lauwargti ap Morroyth．Et de Rcia pte istis lecti que est in tenura Natiog rndetr inferis î Natios ${ }^{7} t$ ế．

[^178]
## Extracts from Extent of Dendigh, 1335.

Ioza ap Eynon ap Ienaf tenet fciā ptē $j^{9}$. gauelt Meiller

 Rĩo .ij. d . ot . q ${ }^{\text {arto tio }}$.j. \#. Et fac̃ cet̃a şuic̃ in cõi ut supa Et una gauelt integr̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$. $\mathrm{j} \mathrm{j}^{e}$. ptes de ijb3. gauelt phdc̃is sunt escaet đni Unde $\tilde{\text { Inde }}{ }^{r}$ inferius.

Eynon ap Kendalo ap Keñ Pithle $\mathfrak{Z}$ Ioz fr eius tenent medietatē unius gauelt que fuit Lauwargћ ap Mororthe. $\tilde{\mathrm{r}}$. de Tung そ̌ĩo p̂dc̃o .rj. đ. $q^{2}$. Et p pastu Pincipis pimo ̂̃io
 Et ceła sैuicia ut sup ${ }^{3}$ Et alt̂a međ̉ eiusđm gavelle est escaeta đ̃i Unde rndebitr inferius.

Rees ap Meiller ap Heilyn. Groñ 'z Lit fr̃es eius. Meiller ap Io̧̧ ap Heilyn Danid Gronou 7 Io̧̧ fres eius. Meiller ap Lewet ap Heilyn Eynon ' J ’ ’edyth frees eins Iủ ap $\operatorname{Ioz}$ ap Lanwargћ $\mathfrak{z}$ Dauid fr eius tenent medietatè gauelł Ioz ap Lanwargћ. ĩ . de Tung そĩ̃o p̀dc̃o.rij. đ . Et p pastu $\mathrm{P}^{i}$ ncipis ad quemtt $\hat{t} m i n u ̄$ sicut $\mathrm{px}^{\mathrm{a}}$ gauelt $\hat{p}$ pedens. Et alfa medietas eiusdem gauelt est escaeta đui. Unde rindebitr inferius.

De duab; ptib; Wele quod rocat ${ }^{r}$ Pidrith Mougћ nō fit
 eiusdem Wele que cōstitit in tenura Natĩoz unde randebitr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ inferius int Natios sc̃do.

Ienaf map Ithel ap Madok. Ririth ' Gury fres eius . Groñ Taghan ap Groñ ap Madok. Groñ ap Ioz Lợd. Ioz ap Ririth ap Groñ. Meiller ap Rees. Groñ Z Ieû frees eius . Ioz ap Lauwargћ ap Pithle. Dauid $\mathfrak{z}$ Ririth fres eius tenent .rij. ptes grauelt Pridith Mough . r̂. de Tunge fio poc̃o

 $q^{2}$. Et ceťa suiĉ in cõi ut sup ${ }^{3}$. Et .riij ${ }^{3}$.ps eiusđ̉m gauelt est escaet̃ đni. Lĩ r̃ndetr${ }^{\text {inferius }} \mathfrak{z}$ c.
 -xj". $q^{2}$.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.



De Rcia pte Wele Moroythe que fuit in tenura Natĩoz ut sup ${ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ nullus remansit tenens viuus s 3 est pēitus escaet̃ đni rac̃one mortnoz̧ cont ${ }^{\text {a }}$ pacem Et respondetr ${ }^{r}$ inferius cū cetis escaetis $\mathfrak{Z} \tilde{c}$.
het domū nō hent domū
Eynon ap Kendalo ap Madok. Ieŭ $\mathfrak{t}$ Heilyn fr̃es eius tenent medietatē Ccie ptis de Wele Pridith Mougћ. r. de
 inferius 't cū Natis de Dynhengryn inferius reddent adinuicem p past̃ famił Pincip̆ in cői .viij. s .j. đ. of ad .iiijor. †ĩos supaªc̃os vidtt ad Nã̃ Bni .ij. s̃ Međ xle .ij. s̃ . Nat̃ sc̃i Ioћis Bapte ij. s̃. Et ad festū Fxalt̃ sc̃e Crucis .ij. s̃ .j. đ. ot . Et colligitr ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ ille pastus $p$ catall et iiđm Natiui reddunt $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ p pastu equi Ragloti in cỡ ad fm Exalt̃ sc̃e Crucis .xiiij. đ ot . qui quidem pastus colligita int eos p catalt ${ }^{\mathcal{Z}} \boldsymbol{\mathrm { c }}$. . Et iiđm Natiui cū illis de Dynhengreyn reddent adinuicem $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{p}$
 constructione Molenđ de Bragot .iij. s̃ $\mathfrak{q} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ ad $\mathfrak{t} m i n o s \operatorname{Pent} \mathfrak{t}$
 $a^{\text {mp }}$ al fm exalt Sc̃e Crucis .x. š . Et quiłt istoz Natĩoz hens domū dabit j. galł ad Nat̃ Dni řl j. đ. Fit accidit šcđm mağ vel min² put ptres eoz habuerunt domos $\mathfrak{v} l$ pauciores Et
 consuetudies in fine istius Cōmoti Et alta medietatas ${ }^{1}$ ̂cie ptis eiusdē Wele est escacta đni unde r̃ndetr inferius.

It̃m fuit ibi unū lectū Natïoz quod rocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Breynte. et aliud Natiog quod rocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Bothleyn Et sunt illa duo lecta integr̃ escaet dni unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferius cū aliis escaete 't č.

[^179]
## Eatracts from Eatent of Denbigh, 1335.



Et šcđm lectũ quod vocat ${ }^{r}$ Wele Thleytheu 't quod sitr est penit ${ }^{9}$ in Boydroghyn dinidit ${ }^{r}$ in $q^{3}$ tuor ganelt Unde statim subsequitr de $q^{\text {sitt }}$ gaũ $p$ se.

De $p^{i}$ ma gauelt isti ${ }^{9}$ lecti que rocat ${ }^{r}$ gauelt Pridith bolgћ que solebat reddere de Tange ix. đ. Et p .iij. vasis butir .x. s. nullus remansit tenens s; est integr̃ escaeta đni unde rindetr inferius $\mathfrak{t} \tilde{\mathbf{c}}$.
nō ht domū
Eynon Voyl ap Eynon ap Groñ . Davit domā Lord ap Ph ap n̄ het doñ no ht doñ
Dauid Keì Duy ap Cadogan ap Heilyn ' Kendalo ap Groñ tenent medietatem gauelt map Gurnerrth. $\tilde{r}$. de Tunge fio p̀dc̃o .iiij. at cit. Et p.j. rase dĩ butir̃ .v. s̃ . eođm tīo Et ceña ŝuicia in côi ' $\mathfrak{c} \tilde{c}$. Et isti tenentes dicunt $\tilde{y} d$ nō soluūt gallinas neq, $£$ opib; autūpnalib; eo $\tilde{q} d$ nullus eņ̧ sedet sup Tram tn quift tram tenens siue sederit sup $\begin{aligned} \text { tram siue nō : }\end{aligned}$ dabit $p$ opibus autūpnalib; scđđm dẽm aliog Natĩog supius $p$ .iii. dietis messionis .iiijđ. of . inn $n^{i 千}$ inde hic $q$ s in gauelt Keñ Dur inferius Et debent isti de iure cenari ad domū sup

Wele Pridith Bolgh.

Gaũ maj Gournewith. tram suā construendà simul cū emib; aliis Natis domos nō firntib; si habeant unde. Ideo $7 \tilde{c}$. Et alt̃a medietas isti ${ }^{9}$ gauelt est escaeta đni unde respondet ${ }^{r}$ inferius ' $\mathfrak{z}$.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.



Bryn $\quad\left\{\right.$ It̃ Teñ ap Madoke ap Geinthlyn tenet .ix ${ }^{a m}$. ptem pridan. eiusdem gauelt. $\tilde{r}$. de Tunge.$j$. đ . Et $p$.iiijta. pte ${ }^{\text {'t }}$. viij". pte.$^{9}$. vasis butir̃ .xv. đ . eodē tmio. Et fac̃ at suicia ut sup ${ }^{2}$ Et sic medietas ' ${ }^{7}$ ix ${ }^{\text {a }}$. ps altius medietatis sūt escaet̃ đni unde rndet ${ }^{r}$ inferius ${ }^{\text {t }}$ c.
$h_{3}$ doñ
$\hbar_{3}$ domin
Itm pacci Eynon Voyl ap Eynon. Dauid Loyd ap Pћ het doñ
Keñ Duy ap Cađ 't Kendalo ap Groñ tenent Rciam ptem 't
Gaũ Keñ Duy.
 of. Et $\ddagger . j$. vase $t$.viij ${ }^{a}$. pte $j^{2}$. vasis but̃ eođm tino .iij. s ix. đ. Et ceta ŝuicia ut sup ${ }^{2}$ Et medietas $\mathfrak{Z}$.ix ${ }^{2}$. ps eiusđ gauelt sunt escaet đni unde randetr inferius $\mathfrak{Z}$ c.

Sm ${ }^{2}$ Tunge Natiog de Wickewere $\mathcal{Z}$ Boydroghyn pam $a^{m}$. ఇio Omniū Sc̃oz.ij. s̃.iij. đ . o屯 . $q^{\text {a }}$. Unde .ij. đ diffyke.

Sm galliną̆ ad Nat̃ Dni ut nūe .viij. galliñ p̂̃ .viij. đ.
Sma opū autūpnaliū ut nūc .xlij. opa p̂̃.$\nabla$. § .vj. đ.
Smı butir̃ p $a^{m}$. โĩo Oĩm $S$ c̃oz ut nūc .iiij. vas p pẽ .xiij. § .iiij. đ.

De aliis pastibz nichil assūmant ${ }^{r}$ hic : quia in fine Cōmö̆t ' $\mathfrak{c}$.

Et scienđ q̈d villata de Wickewere contz in Tris boscis $\tau$ vastis. $M^{\ddagger}{ }^{\ddagger} x x i j . a c \tilde{r}$.iij. rođ $\mathfrak{Z}$ dĩ. Hamelt de Kilmayl contj in omibz . Clx. acr̃ 't dĩ . Hamelt de Boydroghyn conts .M CCCxl. acr $\tilde{\text { Pre bosci }} \mathfrak{t}$ vast̃ unde $S^{2}{ }^{2}$ in uniuso MiDlxxiij. ${ }^{1}$ acr̃ j. rođ . dĩ. Et inde erit ppars escaet̃ đni s̃cđm veram цporcõem $M^{\ddagger} D C x x x v i i j$ acer.$j$. rođ dĩ $\mathfrak{t} \tilde{c}$. De quibz allocant ${ }^{P}$ diưsis podariis de Lewenny $\mathfrak{Z}$ Astrete Canon in excambio p eoz̧ priōniis in dečis vilt 't c̃. quedam pporcões diussoz tenenciū

[^180]in Wickewere qui obierūt cont ${ }^{3}$ pacem quog pporcões debent contiere .Clxxp. acr̃ .iij. rođ Rre bosc̃ ' $\mathfrak{z a s t ̃}$. Et sic supsunt de ppte đni in Wickewere . Kilmayl 't Boydrog $\ddagger$ yn $M^{\ddagger} C C C C l x i j$. acr̃ dí $\mathfrak{t}$ dĩ rođ $\mathfrak{Z} r e$ bosc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ vas̃ que app ${ }^{u}$ ant ${ }^{r}$ ut patet inferius. Primo in Wickewere postea in Kilmayl $\mathfrak{z}$ deinde in Boydrogticn.

Hago de Hultoñ tenet in Wickewere medietate.$j$. bouat̃ Pre contiñ .v. acr̂ tre que solebant poni in rentli in villat̃ de Lewenny pquib; solebat reddere $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}} . \mathrm{xx}$. đ . ut patet int bouat̃ de Lewenny ' ' nūc dātr $p$ cartā đni tenentr quiete cū alia dimid bouat̃ in Lewenny ptiñ ad Burg̃ de Dynbeigћ infra muros.

Lewet ap Eynon Cogh tenet .rj. acr̃ j. rođ îre de escaet̃ in Wickewere $\tilde{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃.$v j$. đ. $\tilde{r} . p a^{m}$ ad fios Pent ${ }^{\prime}$ t sc̃i Michis .iij. s.j. đ. ob.

Apr. Be. A.D. 1335.

Iđm Leweł tenet.xx. ac̃̃ Tire unde .ij. acr̃ pẽ acr̃ .vj. đ $\mathfrak{Z}$


Iǫ ap Eynon ap Yenaf tenet.j. acr̃ dĩ. pí acr̃ .viij. đ. $\tilde{r}$. २. P̧dc̃o .xij. đ.

 .vj. s. .x. đ. ob.

Idm Iog tenet iij. acr̃ dĩ 't.xxx. 解tic̃ Unde j. ac̃ ' $\mathfrak{z}$
 oち.
 .iij. s.

Ithel Loyd ap Cadoğ tenet .xvj. acr .j. rođ Tre unde xiij acr̃ dî pec acr̃ .iiij. đ $\mathfrak{Z}$ ij. acr̃ iij. rođ $\hat{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ $\cdot \mathrm{vj}$. đ $\cdot \tilde{r} \cdot \mathrm{p} \mathrm{a}^{m}$. t. .̂.r. s. .x. dot.

Iđm Ithel tenet j. rođ $\mathfrak{\text { tire }}$ quā Eynon ap Dauid ap Groñ tenuit. $\tilde{\mathrm{r}}, \mathcal{X} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}} . \mathrm{ij} . \mathrm{đ}$.

Iđm Ithel tenet .iiij. acr̃̂tre ,iij. rođ $\tilde{r}$. $\mathfrak{t} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}}$.ij. š .iiij. $\ddagger$ ot. $\stackrel{\beta}{\mathrm{p}} \mathrm{c}$ acr .vj. đ.

## Extracts firm Eatent of Denbigh, 1335.

Apr. Be. Eynon ap Kendal ap Keñ tenet j. acr̃ .iij. rođ dĩ p̂c̃ acr̃
A.D.
1335.

Iđm Eynon ap Kendal tenet j. acr̃ dĩ Tre . r . . . . p .xij. đ.
Eynon ap Kendal ap Madok tenet j. acr̃ dĩ. ̃ . $\mathfrak{\ell}$. $\mathfrak{P}$ .ix. đ.
[p. 206.] Gurg̃ ap Ithel tenet .viij. acr̃ .iij. rođ dĩ. Unde j. acr̃ j. rođ dĩ $\hat{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ viij. đ't vij. acr̃ dî pẽ acr̃ vj. đ. $\tilde{r} \cdot \mathcal{P} \cdot \hat{p}$ .iiij. s̃ .viij. đ.

Iđm Gurg tenet j. rođ dĩ . r . $\mathfrak{t} \cdot \hat{P}$.iij. đ.
Ririth ap Ithel tenet vij. acr̃ j. rođ Unde iij. acr̃ dî $\mathrm{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ vj. đ'tiij. acr̃ .iij. rođ dî . p pec acr̃ .viij. đ $\tilde{r}$ p $a^{m} \cdot \hat{t} \cdot \hat{p}$ .iiij. s̃ .iiij. đ.

Ina map Ithel tenet .iiij. acr̃ .j. rođ Unde .iij. acr̃ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃


 .viij. đ.
 .iiij. «.

Iđm Rees tenet de tra que fuit Keñ ap Meiller .v. acr $\mathfrak{p}$ p̃ acr̃ .iiij. đ. r. . $\mathrm{t} \cdot \mathrm{p} \cdot \mathrm{xx}$. đ.

Idm Rees tenet .rj. acĩ j. rođ Pre unde dĩ acr̃' $\mathfrak{d i n}$ rođ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$
 $q^{a}$.
E.t in valet acir vj त ad min $^{2}$ 't jo melius surpetr.

 .xviij. đ. of $q^{\text {a }}$.

Leuky que fuit uxor Kendał ap Keñ tenet j. acr .iij. rođ p̀ $\tilde{c}$ acr̃ .vj. đ. $\mathfrak{t} \cdot \hat{p} \cdot i x . ~ đ$.

Eađm Leuky tenet .ij. acr̃ j. rođ dî Pre pic̃ acr̃ viija. r̂. $\mathcal{\ell}$. P .xix. đ.

Eađm Leuky tenet dï acr̃ Pre $\cdot \tilde{\text { r. }} \cdot \mathfrak{P} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}}$. iij. đ.
$\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{z}}$ ap Lanwargfi tenct .iijo. acr̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ xxx ptic̃ Pre $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃


## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Groñ Vaghan ap Groñ tenet iij. acr̃ iij. rođ t̂re pैcii acr̃

## Apr. ile.

 .iiij. đ. $\tilde{r} p a^{m} \hat{\imath} \cdot \hat{p} \cdot x v . đ$. 133.5. ob.

Iđm Groñ tenet .iij. acr̃ $\mathfrak{q}$ Tciam ptē $\mathrm{j}^{\rho}$. acre . $\mathfrak{r} \cdot \mathrm{p} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. in grosso $\mathfrak{\imath} \cdot \stackrel{\text { P }}{\mathrm{p}} . \mathrm{ij}$. s̃ .iij. đ. ut fate ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$.

Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .iij. acr̃̌ $\mathfrak{Z}$ Rciam ptem $\mathrm{j}^{\Sigma}$. acre . $\tilde{\mathrm{r}}$. p $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. in grosso Z . p .ij. s̃.iij. đ.


 $\tilde{r} \cdot p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}} \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}} \cdot \mathrm{x} \cdot đ$.

It̃ p̂dc̃us Heilyn ap Eynon tenet dĩ acr̃ tre. $\tilde{r} \cdot p a^{m}$. २. $\stackrel{\text { P. .iij. đ. }}{ }$

Kenerys uxor Madoke tenet ij. acr̃ p̀ĉ acr̃ .rj. đ Z j. acr̃


Ioz ap Ririth ap Groñ tenet .xj. acr̃ .iij. rođ L'nde .rij. acẽ


Groñ Loyd ap Ithel tez v. acer .iij. rođ . Unde .iiij. acr̃ $\tilde{p} \tilde{c}$
 .iiij. s. .iij. đ.

Meiller ap Yoruarđ tenet j. acz ̂̂re $\cdot \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{t} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}}$.iij. đ.
Eddeñ ap Griff te; unā acr̃ t̂re . $\mathfrak{r} \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}}$.riij. đ.
 .xv. đ.

Yeuan Loyd ap Groũ tenet j. acr̃ j. rođ tire pec̃ acr̃ viij. đ.


Groñ ap Iǫ̧ Loyd. ty unā placeam p̀c̃ . ot . 't vij. acer dî


Tangoistel uxor Eynon tenet de tra que fuit Keñ ap


Dauid ap Bleth tenet .xiij. acr̃ .j. rođ dĩ. Uñ .iiij. acr̃ .j.
 .vij. š .v. đ.

Apr. Be. Madoke ap Ithel tenet.ij. acr̃ dĩ' xxx ptic̃ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ .viij. đ. $\overline{\text { A.D. }} \quad \tilde{r} \cdot p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{t}} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}} . \mathrm{xxj}$. đ ob.

Bleitћ ap Eynon ap Ada tenet Tram Yockyn Cam nativi diffike que cōtz .xvij. acr̃'t xxv. ptic̃ Pre bosẽ 't vasũ. $\tilde{r}$. p
 ŝuicia supius noata quousq, p̂dict̃ Ioz Cam aut heredes sui [p. 207.] reñint 't satisfecint p dc̃a tra rehabenđ 't c̃.

Herbag̃. Et sic supsunt de ppte đui in Wickewere .CCxxvij. acr̃ .iij. rođ 't xv. ptič fre 't vast̃ de quibz dñs nullū capit annuale pficuū nisi q̆d cõitas villã̃ redđ đno $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. pinde herbag̃ ad
 una plus 't alia min ${ }^{9}$.iij. d $p a^{m}$ ad $\mathrm{min}^{9}$. Et sic foret
No ${ }^{\text {a }}$. app ${ }^{\text {u }}$ ament̃ $p a^{m}$ plus $q^{\text {a } m ~ n u ̄ c ~ x l i i j . ~ s ̃ ~ . v j . ~ đ ~ o b . ~}$
Sm herbag̃-xiij. s .iiij. đ.
Molenđ.
Et est ibi unū Molendinū aq ${ }^{\text {aticū }}$ Unde $q^{\text {arta }}$ ps ptinet đ̉no quā Heilyn ap Watte tenet ad firmā. ra . p $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. ad ij os. fĩos plc̃os .vj. s̃.viij. đ. Et iđm Heilyn . r̃. đno p $a^{\text {m }}$. ad eosđum Fïos loco Priodar̃ illius vill $p$ attach stagni Molena .viij. s .iiij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ firm Molenđ cū attachi Stagni--viij. š .iiij. đ.
Ioz ap Eynon tenet xxj. acr̃ .iij. rođ Pre in Boydroghyn
 r̃ is poc̃is xiij. š .j. đ.
Hamelł Ieuan ap Groñ ap Eynon tenet ix. acr̃ tre p̂c̃ acr̃ viij. đ .

 .iiij. š .viij. đ
 xvj . đ̈.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Heilyn ap Groñ ap Eynon t弓 iiij. acr̃ .iij. rođ eiusđm pecii . App. Be. r. . २. २. .xix. đ.

Eynon Routh ten; .iij. acr̃ eiusđm p̂c̃ . $\mathfrak{r} . \mathfrak{\imath}$. p. .xij. đ.
Wladus Vergћ Edeneweyn tenet. dĩ acr̃ . r . $\mathfrak{t} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}} . \mathrm{ij}$. đ.
Dauid ap Dauid Wan tenet ij. acr̃ iij. rođ einsđm p̄ẽ ra . २. $\stackrel{\text { P }}{ } \cdot \mathrm{xj}$ đ.

Dauid ap Iǒ̆ tenet j. acr̃ dĩ einsđ̛̣ $\tilde{p} \tilde{c} \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{t} \cdot \hat{p} \cdot r j$. đ. Eynon Loyd tenet iij. acr eiusđ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c} \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot \widehat{P} \cdot x i j$. đ.

Keñ ap Conagћ tenet .v. acr̃ eiusđm $\tilde{p} \tilde{c} \cdot \tilde{r} . \hat{\imath} \cdot \hat{p} \cdot x x$. đ.
Madoke ap Heilyn tenet ij. acr̃ eiusđm $\hat{p} \tilde{c} \cdot \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{t} \cdot \hat{p}$ .viij. đ.

Meiller ap Iǫ̨ tenet .j. acr̃ dĩ eiusđm $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c} \cdot \tilde{\mathbf{r}} \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{p}} \cdot \mathrm{vj}$. đ. Madoke ap Dauid Wan tenet j. acr $\tilde{r} \mathcal{Y}$ p.iiij. đ.
Heilyn ap Eynon tenet .ij. acr̃ eiusđm $\bar{p} \tilde{c} . \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{\ell} \cdot \stackrel{\mathrm{p}}{\mathrm{p}}$.viij. đ. It̃m Heilyn ap Eynon Gogћ tenet j. acr̃ dĩ eiusđ phẽ. $\tilde{\mathrm{r}}$. २. ì. .jј. đ.


Dauid ap Kendat ap Ioz teng ij. acrer eiusđ päc $\cdot \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{\ell} \cdot \hat{P}$ viij. đ.

Dauid Loyd tenet j. acr̃ t̂re . $\tilde{\mathrm{r}} . \mathfrak{\imath}$. p . .viij. đ.

Madoke ap Pt tenet j. acr̃ . $\tilde{r}$. $\mathfrak{Z}$. p .iiij. đ.
Oñes Natiui cimsđ̈m vilf qui dant butir tenent gauelt
 in cõi vasto que contineret si ptita fuisset .xxrj. acr̃ dĩ. 7 xxxij. ptic̃ redđ p pannū in grosso f̂minis phdictis—xvj.s .j. đob. tra meli ${ }^{\text {E }}$ q ( $S^{c} £ a^{m} \quad$.liiij.


## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Apr. Be. Et cõitas eiusđm Hamelł $\mathfrak{r}$ đno $p a^{m}$ ad .ijos. Яĩos phdẽos p
A.D. 1335. Herbag. herbağ residue ppartis đni itm .lv. s. . 't coñ̃ illud residuū si ptitū fult ' ' extractū $\mathfrak{p}$ vastū pporcõis ganelt Pridith bulgћ supins. vij.l. acr̃' $\mathfrak{t}$ xxviij. ptic̃ quag quett acrir valeret p $a^{m}$ ad
 l.xx. s̈.

Sma herbağ p $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ —lv. s̃.
Molenđ̃. Et est ibi unū Molendinū aqªticū unde . xija . ps ptiũ đno



Sm ${ }^{a}$ Molenđ $p a^{m}$ - xvj . đ.
Ioz ap Eynon ap Yenaf tenet xij. acr̃ .iij. rođ tre mortue ' j. acr̃.j. rođ dî Tre diffike Unde ij. ač̃' ' dĩ. Z dĭ rođ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ ač̃ iiij. đ't .xj. acr̃ dî pẽ acĩ .vj. đ. re. $\widehat{t} \hat{p} \cdot v j^{s}$. viijđ ot.

Groñ ap Mađ tez .ix. acr̃ îr̃. pẽ acr .viijđ. 'も iij. rođ $\hat{p} \tilde{c}$


Eynon Loyd tenet xiij. acr̃ چ̂re. Unde .vij. acr̃ $\widehat{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ .viij. đ. 't v. acr .iij. rođ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ acr̃ .xij. đ. $\tilde{r} p a^{m} \cdot \hat{\ell} \cdot \hat{p} \cdot x \cdot$ s .vij. đ.
 $\widehat{p}$.iiij. š.iij. đ.

Madoke ap Heilyn tenet j. acrer . r. . २. . p.vj. đ.
Heilyn ap Groñ tenet iiij. acĩ fre pac acr̃ viij. d't j. rod

 คควčis..xx đ.
 Kihmayl tís $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\left.\text { Sc̃i Mictios .xiiij. š .iiij. dob } q^{2}\right\}\end{array} \begin{array}{l}\text { xlvj. acr̃ dï 't } \\ \text { dī rođ tre. }\end{array}\right.$

Et sic supsunt de ppte đui in Kilmayl xlvij. acr̂ dî ' .x.
 fios placos .iiij. ş . et tamen si ptit fuissent 't extracte.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

valeret quett acr̃. una plus $\mathfrak{Z}$ alia $\min ^{9}$ ad app ${ }^{4}$ anđ $p a^{m}$ App. Be
 .x. đ. ob.

Sm $^{a}$ herbag $p^{a^{m}}$-iiij. š.
Sma Tunge tocis Cōmoti de Ysdulas $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ 民io $\mathrm{O}^{\mathrm{m}}$ Sc̃oz — [p. 243.] $1 x^{\text {T. }}$. $i i j{ }^{\text {® }}$.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ denar̃ $p$ butir̃ eođm t̂mio-lxiij. s. iij. d. ot $q^{3}$.

$$
\text { vj. } \mathfrak{s} \text {.ij. đ. ot } q^{\circ}
$$

x. s.j. đ
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ denar̃ $p$ disce farine thraũ aueñ eođ tĩo-xvj. s̃ .iijd. ot $q^{\text {a }}$ 甲 Cxlix. disce dĩ fariñ $\mathfrak{t x x x}$ Thraũ ' $\operatorname{iiij}$ ta pte $j^{j}$. thraũ.


 px̃ seãnt-

Nat. ̌. Ioti .xxxij. s. .x. đ. $q^{3}$ dĩ ob . Z die $q^{2}$.
Exaľ̃. s. . $\mathrm{C}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{Cis}$.xxvj. s. .iij. đ.

App. Be. A.D.
1335.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ Past̃ famit Princiã exeunt de Natiũ isti ${ }^{9}$ Cōmoti Pĩs

| $\mathrm{Na} \tilde{t}^{\text {D }}{ }^{\text {i }}$ | ij. s\% |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Međ xle | ij. ${ }^{\text {Tj}}$ |  |
| Nat̃ s. Ioћ | ij. ${ }^{\text {s }}$ | ¢.pa . vij. s.j. |

 pgēiem Edeñ reddent đno in cõi $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. ad festū Exalt̃ Sc̃e xij. s.x. đ xx. s.j. đ x.s̃.ob Crucis p pastu Staloñ ' g garcõis luctraî cū canibz' $\mathfrak{t}$ Pennackew 't Waissyon bagћeyn adīuicē .xlij. š .xj. đ. ő . Et colligitr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ in $\mathfrak{t}$ eos $p$ catalf $\mathfrak{Z}$ c.

Et $\overline{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{m}$ es Natiui istius Cōmoti Pr re tenentes reddent đno ij. s. iiij. ${ }^{\text {d }}$
iiij. สิ.vj. đ
adinuicē $p$ annū eođm fiñ $p$ pastū Staloñ 't garcõis luctrar̃ cū ij. ธ̃.iij. đ. ix. $\widetilde{8}$.j. đ
canibz Pennackew 't Waissyon bagћeyn. It̃m ōes Natiui qui non dant butir̃ reddūt đno adīuicē fĩo p̂dco p pastu xiij $\begin{gathered}\text {. ob }\end{gathered}$
dextrar̃ 't garcõis 't p pastu equi Ragloti .ix. s̃ .v d. of put
[p. 244.]
Adhuc de $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$
Past ${ }^{9}$
Princiep
Z
Consuetudines. plenius patet in villa de Wyckewer.

Pastu Staloñ 't garcõis xv s̃.ij. đ Pastu lucr̃ cū canibz xxiiij s̃ . Vij đ ad festū Exalt̃. § . Pastu Pennak ${ }^{2}$ Weiš bagћ xijs̃. iijð ot ${ }^{\text {an }}$ cis. Pastu equi Ragloti xiij. đ. об)

Et ō̄es libi istius Címoti reddunt đno $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. adinuicē $p$ sustentac̃one domoz' $\mathfrak{Z}$ sepiū Manerii de Dynorbyn ad Imios Pent 't sc̃i Michis $p$ eq ${ }^{\text {a }}$ les porcões .xiij. s̃ .iiij. đ . et colligit ${ }^{\text {r }}$


It̃m ō̄es Natiui istius Cōmoti qui dant butir̃ reddunt ad v. s. .viij. đ
eosđm in timios cõi pro sustentacõe domoz eiusđm Manerii 'z vj. s̃.viij. đ
sustent Molend de Meynyot ut patet supius-xiij. š .iiij. đ.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

Sma denar̃ tā de litis $q^{2} m$ de Natis $p$ -



APP. B
A.D. 1335.

Consuetudines.
$S^{2}$ denar̃ exeunc̃ de Nat̃is $p$ diủsis minute cōsuet Vidett.
Galtis ad $\operatorname{Mat} \mathrm{Do}^{i}$ ut nūc iiij. s. $p$ xlviij. galtis.
Cribrar̃ aueñ ad Pascћ ut nūc iij. s̃ . p xxxvj Cribr̃.



Accidunt iste consuedines ${ }^{1}$ scđm mage ${ }^{2}$ min ${ }^{9}$ put plur̃ fuint teñ de Natiuis $\tilde{v} l$ pauciores.
$\operatorname{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ denar̃ exeunc̃ de Natis qui non dant batir de fine $\underline{1}$ offic̃ ppõiture eis relaxando p annū đ̂ĩo Exalt̃ sc̃e Crucis.x. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathbf{2}}$ ralor̃ opū arure ' herciature de Nat̃is de Mernyot. Kilkydoke 't Dynorbşn Vaghan p estimacõem cõibz annis ad Natat Dni .iij. s. Tamen accidit sub incerto scđm pluralit Natĩǫ̧ habenc̃ caruc̃ $\mathfrak{z}$ c̃.

Sma valor̃ busce ad sepes puēient̃ de Natiis istius Cōmoti facientib; ${ }^{\text {rl }} 1$ emendantibz sepes cõib; annis $p$ estiacõem $p^{i}$ mo die Maii-ij. s. Accidit tamen sub incerto.

Et ō̄es liti $\mathfrak{Z}$ Nat̃i isti ${ }^{9}$ Cōmoti reddunt đno adinuicē $p$ annū ad tion Pent̃' ' sc̃i Mich $p$ past Forest̃ in cõi-lx s .viij. đ.

$$
\mathrm{Sm}^{2} \text { patet. }
$$

Et sic est $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ ralor̃ oïm cōsuetuđ p̂dict cõib; aunis xvij. Iĩ .rij. s. .rij. đ. of $q^{\text {a }}$. dĩ.
Offič Ragloti cū feođ eius valet cõib; annis C. ş Offic̃ Ryngịldĩ ralet cõibz annis cū feođ suis iiij. lï .ij. s̃ Offič Iudic̃̃ cū feođ suis ralet cõibz anmıs XX. S Offiẽ Coidar̃ cū feođ suis valet cõib; annis xl. s Officia Offić Seruient pacis cū feođ suis lx. s

[^181]
1335. Offic̃ amobr̃ cū amobragiis istius Cōmoti valet cõibz annis x lĭ $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ valor̃ Officioz ad firm Rĩis-

Pquis It̃m pquis Cur̃ cū fiñ releũ intestatoz $\mathfrak{Z}$ õibz aliis escaet

Cur̃.
$\mathrm{Pq}^{\mathrm{i}}{ }^{\text {³ }}$
Fores estimant ${ }^{r}$ valere cõib; annis-xx lĩ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{3}$ patet.

It̃m qquiš Cur̃ Forest̃ cū õibz escaet̃ Forest̃ istius Cōmoti estimantr ${ }^{r}$ valere cõibz annis-xx. s̃. $S^{\text {a }}$ patet.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ valor̃ Mañii de Dynorbyn quod est ì đnico $\mathrm{p} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. xxiiij. lĩ .x. š .vijđ. $q^{a}$.
 $a^{0} \mathrm{pl}^{9} \mathrm{t}$ alio $\mathrm{min}^{9}$ in terminis.
Oïm Sc̃oz
.vj lï .xix s .xj. đ. ot.)
Nat Dui. . 1xxviij. s. .ixat ot qa
Med xle . . . xxviij. ${ }^{\text {s.v.v d. }} \mathrm{q}^{\text {a }}$
Pasch . . . . . xij. sk $S^{c} p a^{m}$.Cliij. ii


Assūpc̃ be Mar̃
. xxj. s.
Exalt sc̃e Cucis
Sc̃i Michis
C. $\begin{gathered}\text { s. ő } q^{a} \\ \end{gathered}$
$\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ valor̃ exituū $q^{i}$ accidūt šb inçto i Pñis-
Arure 't herciature . iij. s.
Busc̃ ad seẽ . . ij. ऊ.
Pquiš ${ }^{\text {t }}$ exī̆ Forest̃ . xx. §.
Pquis̃ Cữ cū ret t escaet̃ xx. lĩ.
Et sic est Sm ${ }^{\text {a }}$ valoris tocius Cōmoti de Ysdulas pannū

 in diûse villat de-xvij. lĩ .viij. s .xj. đ.

## Extracts from Extent of Denligh, 1335.

## APPEXDIX Bf.

## Extent of the Tilluta of Dynorbyn Vaur.

## Mañiū de Dynorbyn Vaur.

Situs Manerii de Dynorbyn in quo est una gagia App. Bf. cōpetens 't alťa penits rastata $\hat{p} t$ gross maerem . unū gar 't una boueria 't una dom ${ }^{5} p$ feno ' $\mathfrak{t}$ forag debit coñ uniusatr
 Et est ibi unū colūbar̃ ruinosū quod si repet ralebit $\ddagger a^{m}$ rj. s. .viij. đ.

Et sunt ibi de fra arabili que potest quott $a^{\circ}$ seĩari j. acr̃ .iij rođ dï $\mathfrak{7}$ xix. ptic̃ que valent in grosso $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}} \mathrm{iij}$. š .iij. đ. Sunt $\mathfrak{t} i b i$ de $\hat{\text { tra }}$ arabli côûsa in tres seisonas. $C C \mathrm{Cj}$. ac̃ ${ }^{\text {' }}$ sxxrj. ptic̃ que valent p $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ s̃cđm diûsa p̂cia .xij. lĩ .vij. s. .ix. đ . Tnde in una seisona vidtt in .ij. culturis in le Spitelfeld .lxrij. acr̃.xv. ptic̃ p̂c̃ acr̃.xv. đ. In sc̃da seisona vidj in duab; pec̃ ex pte occiđ del Spitelfeld .riij. acr̃.x. ptic̃ dĩ . 't in .ij. forlonge ex pte austali del Spitelfelđ usq, ad viam regiā subt${ }^{2}$ Pendinas

T" ra
arabit. .lrij. acr̃ j. rođ .xix. ptic̃ dĩ. pé cuiustt acr̃ .xv. đ. Et in tecia seison ${ }^{\text {a }}$ in le Taugћcleit subtiori ex pte boriali vie p̂dc̃e .liiij. acr̃ dỉ 'Z xrij. ptic̃ p̂c̃ acr̃.xy. đ. E't itm ex pte australi eiusđm vie .xv. acr̃' ' .xiiij. ptic̃ p̂̃ acr̃ .xij. đ. Itm sunt ibi de ret̂i frisc̃ in cultra roca ${ }^{r 1}$ le Maorderũ .xl. acr̃ dĩ Z xxx. ptic̃ que non valent conûti cū aliis seisonis f̂re arabił ppir eoz debilitatem qaappê ordinantr de cễo aà pastram bidenciū $\mathfrak{Z}$ ralent $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. xx . s.iiij. đ. $\mathrm{p} \tilde{c}$ ac̃ rj . đ.

Sma toci ${ }^{\varepsilon}$ ire aralit-CCxliij acr̃. iij. rođ dĩ $\mathfrak{z}$.r. ptic̃ . vat $p a^{m}$ —xiij. lĩ .xj ${ }^{\text {s. }}$. $v^{\text {d. }}$.

[^182]
## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.


A.D. 1335. in magno $p^{\text {ato }}$ sim̃l iaceñ̃ .xvij. acr̃ .iij, rođ dĩ $\mathfrak{t}$ viij. ptic̃ . Et nūc p̂dĉm patū t le Spitelfelđ cū una pua plac̃ inta ${ }^{\text {a }}$ Prā arabile subłior̃ cultre de Spitelfeld .iiij. acr .iij. rod' $\mathfrak{t}$.xr.
 .viij. đ.

Et sunt ibi de pastura sepali iv đnicis .lxxij. ač̃ 't
 Unde in Marisco quod vocatr ${ }^{\text {l }}$ le Frith .lxvj. acr̃ j. rođ di ${ }^{\text {t }}$
 sepat. in campo desup le Spitelfeld $j$. rođ dí 't xvj. ptic̃ $\mathfrak{p}$ c̃ in toto
 ptic̃ $\mathfrak{p} c \tilde{c}$ acr̃ .xij. đ $\mathfrak{Z}$ a bosco de Pendinas usq ad port̃ Maniii ex uta $q$, pte le Longeclogћ cū viriđ ex ${ }^{\mathbf{a}}$ portā .ij acr̃ .iij. rođ [p. 215.] di't xiij. ptic̃ . pã acr̃ iiij. đ.
 .iiij. 1 II. $\mathrm{vj}^{\tilde{s}}$. $\mathrm{q}^{\text {a }}$.

Est ibi unus boscus qui vocat" Pendinas vestitus debili Boscus. subbosco qui cōtinz .xxxiij. acr .iij. rođ qui poßit amputari quolt duodecĩo anno $\mathfrak{Z}$ tunc valebit acr̃ .iiij. s. Et sic si subboscus pporcionetr in .xij. ptes equales valebit $p$ annũ .xj. š .iij. đ. Pastura dêi bosci si ita pporcionetr valebit $n^{\ddagger}{ }^{\ddagger}{ }^{9}$ -ij. s. ix. d.
$S^{\mathrm{a}}$ acrą bosci .xxxiij. acr̃ .iij. rođ que vat $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ si pporc̃onetr - xiiij. š.

Adam Anneiesone tenet ad voluntatem de p̂dicte dnič .j.

 arentañ ad voluntã. porc̃ones.

It̃n Adam ap Thornlee tenet itm j. plac̃ Tre ad voluntatē đni que continet .iij. acr̃. ' ' xxv. ptic̃ . redio p annū ad fĩos


Adam fit Riẽi tenet ibm .j. plac̃ cont̃ ij. acr̃ .iij. rođ̃' $\mathfrak{t}$.xiiij。


Io ̌es de Rothelan tenet īm .iiij. acr̃ j. rođ dǐ't .xxrij. ptic̃ Pre assart̃ de bosc̃ de Pendinas. $\tilde{r}$. $\mathfrak{p} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. riij. s̃ . eisđ tîs. Et Ric̃us del Nant tenet iux ${ }^{\text {a }}$ le Maorderue quamdam

App. B $\mathrm{f}^{2}$.
A.D. 1335.


Sma acra̧ tre arentaĩ .xxviij. acr̃ j. rođ dĩ $q^{e}$ redđ $p a^{m}$ ad $\mathrm{ij}^{\text {os. }}$. ̂ĩos-xxxiij. s.rj. đ.

It̃m pquis Cur̃ estimantr valere cõibz annis-xiij. š .iiij. đ. Sma patet.
Sma valoris tocius Maner̃ de Dynorbyn ī oîb; exit̃ p $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$ xxiiij. lï .x. s̃ .vij. đ q ${ }^{\text {º }}$.

Et est ibi quedam Hamelt que ptiñ ad Maner̃ p̄dẽm 't consistebat temporibz Princip̃ integr̃ in manib; Natĩoz qui consueuerūt façe diûs̃ consuẽ̃' $\mathfrak{t}$ opa ad Maneĩ de Dşnorbỵn que núc eis arent̃ a tempore Comit Lincolñ. Ita qd omes Natiui eiusđm Hamelł reddūt adinnicē p annū p omimodis redditib; consuetuđ̃ ' opib; ad fios Pent $z$ sc̃i Micđis $p$ equales porc̃ones .xxxr. sै... đ. Et iiđm Custumarii teñ int se hereditar̃ totam illam Hamelt $\mathfrak{p t}$.xl. acr̃ dĩ. $\mathfrak{Z}$ xxx ptic̃ que conuntuntr in dõic̃ Maner̃ supadẽi. $\mathfrak{Z} \mathfrak{P}$.xxxviij. acr̃ dĩ que arent inferius ut statim pat̃ in postum.


Cöitas ville tenet .xiiij. acr̃ de escaet $\tilde{p} \tilde{c}$ acr .viij. đ. $\tilde{r}$


Eadem Cõitas tenet .riij. acr̃ fre eiusđm $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c} \cdot \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{\imath} \cdot \hat{p} \cdot$ r. $\mathfrak{s}$ .iiij. đ.

Griff ap Iacke tenet iiij. ac̃ eiusđ $\widehat{p} \tilde{c} \cdot \tilde{r} \cdot \hat{\tau} \cdot \hat{\mathrm{P}}$.ij. $\mathrm{s}^{\prime}$ .viij. đ.
 .viij. đ.

Iones de Pontefracto $\mathfrak{z}$ Rottus de Castelford teñ qandam plac̃ vocat Thle Tee Madoke que coñ .rj. acr $\tilde{r}, \hat{\imath}$. $\hat{p}$. in grosso .iiij. ร.

Hamelt de Mayrdreue.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

 $1335 \quad S^{c} \mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{m}}$ xxv. s̃ .viij. đ p xxxviij acr̃ dï ̣̂re.
[p. 2.6. Et sic supsunt de ppte đni ibm .xviij. acri tre 't vasti p Herbag. qua̧ $\hbar b a \tilde{g}$ comunitas ville reddit $p a^{m}$. ad ijos. Tios p pac̃os
 iiij. đ. Et sic foret appuamentū plus $q^{a} m$ nunc .xij. đ.

Sma herbag̃ $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$-v. s.
Et sic restat clarus valor tocius Mañii cū villata de Dynorbyn Vaur p $a^{m}$. ī uniûso-xxvij. lĩ .xvij. š j. đ q ${ }^{\text {a }}$.

## Extracts from Extent of Denbiyh, 133ั.

## APPENDIX Bg.

Extent of the Villata cf Tebrith.

## Ros Ughdulas.

Extenta Cōmoti de Ugћdulas facta anno regni Regis App. Bg. Edwardi tercii post cōquestū .viijo.

Dominus nichil ћet in đnico in Cōmoto de Lghdulas nisi pporcões que sibi acciderūt in diûsis villat de quib; porcõib;
A.D. 1335.
[p. 246.] r̃ndebitr iferi $^{\ominus}$ in qualibet villã $p$ se . que quidem porcões acciderunt đno tāqam escaet̃ ptim rac̃one mortuo̧ cont ${ }^{\text {a }}$ pacem ptim p defc̃u seruic̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ c̃.

Villata de Tebrith.
Tota villata de Tebrith cū Hamelt suis de Maencoke 't Keuenkestilth tenet ${ }^{r}$ in quing, lectis quoz quodlibet lectū solebat reddere de Tunge dum fuit iutegr̃ in mañ viuo̧̧ tenenc̃ .iiij. §. İmīo Oĩm Sc̃oz. Vidłt Wele Genthlyn ap Pithle . Wele Kemmynge ap Pithle. Wele Cadugan ap Pithle. Wele Edeñ ap Pitble $\mathfrak{Z}$ Wele Rissharđ ap Pithle Et sunt omes
 vocant ${ }^{r}$ Wyrion Pithle.

Ioz Gogћ ap Madok Eynon ap Yenafe ap Płı. Dauid ap Ieu ${ }^{\text {an }}$ Gogћ Madoke ap Meuryke ap Heilyn tenent .iijor. ptes istius Wele redđo de Tunge adinuicē t̂mio Oïm Sc̃oz̨ .iij. š .ij. đ. ot . Et p pasë Pinnc̃ p annū ad Natat Dni .xr. đ. Et isti cū cū ${ }^{1}$ omibz aliis Priodar̃ istis rille reddunt adinuicē $p$ past̃ Pínc̃ Međ̃ ale . ij. š . ad festū Nat̃ Sc̃i

Wele Gen-
thlyn.
 .ij. š. Et facient omia alia sैuic̃ in cõi cū omibz litis istius Cōmoti, que patebunt inferius in fine istius Cōmoti. Et $\mathbf{v}^{\text {ta }}$. ps istius Cōmoti est escaet̃ đni Unde r̃ndetr inferius. Griffe ap Dd ap Aur Madoke ap Aur Vaghan. Yeuan Vaghan ap Ieuan. Yeuan ap Dd Aur. Ioz Eynon 't Dauid fr̃es eius Tuder ap Ioz ap Aur . Heilyn Gruff ' 7 Dauid fres eius Tuder ap Madoke Vaghan. Mad fr eius. Yeuan Guyn ap Mad. Yeuan ap Dd
Wele Kennyng. Wele Ioz ap Tudr ap Eynon 't Keñ ap Bd Voyl 't Hoel ap Dd ap Cadug̃.

Wele
Edeñ. Wele excepta inde xxxvjta pte redđo de Tunge adinuicē $\mathrm{Pmino} \mathrm{Oĩm} \mathrm{Sc̃oç} \mathrm{iij} .\mathrm{§} \mathrm{.ij}. \mathrm{đ}$. past̃ $\mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{i}} n \tilde{c}$ ad Natat Dni .xiij. đ $q^{\mathfrak{a}}$. $\mathfrak{Z}$ cet̀a shuicia cū aliis in cỡi ut supa ${ }^{\text {a }}$. Et. .iiijta. ps $\mathfrak{Z}$ xxxvj ${ }^{\text {tu }}$. ps ce? $\bar{u}$ triū pciū isti ${ }^{9}$ Wele sūt escaet̃ đ̈ni Uñ r̃ndetr ${ }^{\text {cu}}$ cetis escaetis inferius.

Ioz̨ ap Willym ap Meredutt . Cadug̃ ap Willym ap Cadug̃ . Li. Gogћ ap Dd. Mereduth fr ei ${ }^{2}$. Mereduti ap Lt Meiller. Doyoke tenent medietatē 't duodecimā ptē isti ${ }^{\text { Weie. }}$. $\mathfrak{r}$. de Tunge adinuicem t̂mīo oĩm Sc̃oz .ij. s̃ .iiij. đ Et p pastu Pinciẽ ad Natale Bni-xj. đ. Et ceta ŝuicia cū aliis in cõi ut supa $^{\text {a }}$. Et residuū istius Wele est escaet̃ đni. Unde respondetr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ cū cetis escaetis inferius.

Meređ ap Mađ ap Eynō. Dd Loyd ap Lauwargћ. Tuder ap Griffuth ap Groñ Eynon Gogh ap Bd. Groñ ap Iož Gogh .

Et omes isti liti Priodar̃ r̃. adiuucē p Past̃ Staloñ 't garc̃ lucr̃ cū canib; T Pennak ' Waiss bagћeyn $p a^{\text {m }} \cdot a d$ fim Exalt̃ Sc̃e Crucis iij. ${ }^{\text {s }}$ .x. đ . Et colligitr in? eos p eoy catalla.
caue Bletti ap Ioz̧ ap Groñ Z Griff ap Ioz̧ ap Groñ tenent totū istud

Extracts frem Extent of Denbigh, 1335.

 aliis ut supa Et dñs nullam habet escaetā in isto Wele.

Lauwargћ ap Meiller ap Cadug̃ . Dauid ap Griffri ap Wele Yenafe Eynon fr eias Dauid ap Edeñ ap Daniel ' Edeñ fr Risseius tenent totū istud Wele . $\tilde{r}$. de Tunge adinuice $\hat{t} m i o n o i m ~ h a r d$.
 in cõi cū aliis supius. Et dñs nullam het escaet̃ in isto Wele.
 ot.

|  | Nat Dri vjo .iij đ . of q ${ }^{3}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Međ̃. .x ${ }^{\text {e }}$. . ij. ड. | Sic $p \mathrm{a}^{\text {m}}$. xij ${ }^{\text {s }}$ |
|  | Nat.s. Io太 Bapt . ij. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | iij đ cot q $^{3}$ |
|  | Exalṫ Sãe Crucis . ij. sf |  |

Et contiet ppars escaet̃ đni in rilt $\mathfrak{z}$ Hamelt pačis c
 in posîum.

# Extracts from Extent of Denbigh, 1335. 

## APPENTIX Bh.

## Extract from the Cymwd of Ughalet.

Apr. Bh. Et quicumq, eoz obierit filius eius ' hes dabit đno $p$ releũ
A.D.
1335.
[p. 153.] anteq ${ }^{a}$ eius hereditã optiñe possit v. s̃. Et si filius non ћûit tunc frat eius aut nepos aut consanguineus qui eius heres ppinquior fuit videft in fcio gradu vel infra dabit $p$ releũ suo x. s̃. Et qui in remoc̃ori gradu fût $q^{3} m$ in ftio non pôit heredit̃ exig̀e $n^{c}$ optinere $q$, ex ${ }^{a}$ ̣̂ciū gradū nō est in̂̂ eos descensus heditarius $\mathrm{s} \xi$ in hoc cãu erit $\mathfrak{P r a}$ pur̃ escaet̃ đni Tamen si đns velit $\hbar i^{9}$ Pram alicui tenenti dimittere cicuis dimittenda est ppinquiori de sanguine illius a quo fra illa sic accidit đno $p$ defectu sanguinis ppinquioris $q^{\text {a }} m$ alicui extanio $\underline{p}$ vero valore ${ }^{7} \boldsymbol{z}$ c.

Item si quis eoz seu quozcumq, aliog Natioz istius Cōmoti filiam suam maritaúit aut quecumq, filią Natiũ seipam maritaûit च̃l eciam sup fornicacõe conuicta fuit dabit đno $p$ amobr v. š. Et si ip̂a forte non hûit vnde solûe ppinquiores pentes eius seu amici soluant $p$ ea. Et eciam si $v \times$ ) alicui ${ }^{9}$ Natini sup adultio conuicü fuit maritus eius soluet $p$ ea simiłr
 maritag̃ Fornicacõibz aut adultiis cum diûs psonis comisse seu ifate conuinci potunt. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ There is a similar statement at the end of the Extent of the Cymwd of Ros Ughdulas.

## APPENDIX Bi.

Extruct from the Cymud of Usealet.
Apr. Bi. Dicunt eciam $\tilde{q}^{d}$ fił libi Preodar̃ post mortem patris sui

## А. v .

1335. 

[p. 148 .
 Bit fint aut nepos aut consanguineus infa $\mathfrak{\text { faiu }}$ gradum ' $\mathfrak{i n}$ fr'io gradu dabit $\ddagger$ releuio suo post mortem antec̃ sui anteq ${ }^{\text {a }} \mathrm{m}$ eius heredif optineat xx. \& . Et vlta "tciũ gradū nou est int cos ius heredit sz erit fra escaet dui p defectu herede tor.

## APPENDTX C .

## EXTRACTS FROM EXTENT OF THE LANDS OF THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, A.D. 1326.

Additional MSS. 34135̆, Dritish Museum.
Exteñ̃ oïm terrarū et reddituū đni Ep̣i Meneũ fact̃ p Magr̃m Dauid Fraunceys Cancellar̃ Meneuens̃ tempore venerabit patris đni Dauid Martyñ. Dei gr̃a Ep̃i loci Annc Dni. Miltmo. $\mathrm{CCC}^{\mathrm{mo}}$. ricesimo sexto.

App. C. A.D. 1326. [Fol. 1.]

Villa de Landewybreuy.
[Fol. 35.]
Orreyñ ap Lt. Ythel Loyd. Gir ap Ieuan. Ieuan Seys . Dauid ap Gruff Dun. Ieuan ap Gwelowe. Ieuan ap Gri ap
 itm unā domum in villa Et rat p annū ad locanđ ij . ş.

Patria de Landewybreuy.
It̃m dicūt îd sunt ibiđ .viij. lecti qui vocantr ${ }^{r}$ Gwely de Liti $p^{i}$ mo Gwely Lt ap Vryeñ. Iorûth Gogћ. Iorunth ap Gr̃. $\mathcal{Z}$ teñ̃. descendentes $a b$ eisđ redđ đno $£$ annū .iij. s̃ .iiij. đ ad fim sc̃i Mich . De sc̃do Gwely sunt Kediuor ap Cradoc . Gwasmyhangel ap Cradoc 'z descendentes $a b$ eisđ redđ đno $p$ annū iij. s .iiij. đ . eođ t̂mīo . De tercio . Gwely sūt Cadog³n Capttus Euer̃ fit Captti. Ioruth ap Cradoc $\mathfrak{Z}$ descendentes ab eisđ redđ đno iij. š. iiij. đ eođ fīo. De quarto. Gwely sūt Gronou ap Duthigu. Dauid ap Grwyon. Traharn ap Ithel Z descendentes $a b$ eisđ redđ đno $p$ annū iij. s̃ .iiij. đ . De

## Extent of St. David's, 1326.

APp. C.
A.D. 1326.

Seruic.

Amcia"廑t vij.s .j. it
quinto . Gwely sunt Dauid ap Traharũ Pti ap Cadogañ . Eynoĩ $\operatorname{Vagh}^{2} n$ ' descendentes ab eisđ redđ đno p annū iij. ş .iiij. đ. eođ ? . De sexto . Gwely sunt Ph ap Cadranđ . Gurgeñ fral eius Dauid Dauid frater eiusđ̈m $\mathfrak{Z}$ descendentes ab eisđ redむ đno $\mathrm{p} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$.iij. s . iiij. đ. eod $\mathfrak{Q}$. De septimo. Gwely sunt Meiler̃ Capłtus Dauid ap Auel Gwas Dewy Y agha$^{\text {an }} \mathrm{n}$. $\mathfrak{Z}$ descendentes ab eisd redđ dno $\mathrm{pa}^{\mathrm{m}}$. iij. s. iiij d. eod fỉo. De octano . Gwely sunt Dauid Coyĝ Dauid ap Zosseth . Cadogañ ap Dd. 't descendentes ab eisd redd đno p annū iij. sc .iiij. đ . eođ tĩo . Et omes plac̃i tenent p antiquam tenurā viḑ p Ach ' $\mathfrak{t}$ Edria.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$-xxvj. $\begin{gathered}\text { s. viij. } \\ \text { đ. }\end{gathered}$ leyruvir ij s Et quols iijo auno pōmorth in ktn Maii viij vacẽ. Et sic diuidendo quolz .iijo. anno est valor đno .xvij. s ix. đ. Et dabūt pannag̃ viz ubi vij porci val płres fûint.j.
 dĩs funal feiū Et cariare đent grossū mem qua tahi non potest p j. equū de foresta de Atp usq, Maniū de Landogy 1? quinq, domibz ibiđ faciend viz aula Cama đni Coquina staظlo ${ }^{\text {t }}$ grang sumptibz suis Et cariare đent gross̃ meen p molenđ quociens opus fuit. Et emendare fossam eiust Et molares eiusd cariare sumptibz eoz. Et fac̃ sect̃ ad molenđ St dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ heredes cui ${ }^{9}$ lint compelli dent ad recipienđ
 Et duče dent prisones apud villa ${ }^{1}$ de Landewy Et de villa usq, Lawhađ quociens opus fưit sūptibz suis Et fac̃ sect̃ Cur̃ de .iij. sept̃ in .iij. sepz̃. Et est cõe am̉ciament̃ eoç .vij. § .vj. đ . Et in Nunđ ibiđ fac̃ clausurà modo 't locis consuet̃ cū quinq villis sequeñ sūptib; suis. Et ō̄es tenentes litóz de Cardiganshire solue đent tholloñ de reb; $\mathfrak{Z}$ aĩalib; venđ ' tempt. Et valent dict ŝuic̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ cons̃ p estimacõem
$\operatorname{Sin}^{2}$ -
${ }^{1}$ So in the MS.

## Carthely.


İ̃ dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ est itom .j. lectus qui vocatr . Gwely . de quo sūt Ienan $^{2}$ Vaghan $^{2}$ ap Ieun $W_{y t h}$ Lewet ap Gurgeñ. Gruff Hager̃' $\mathfrak{t}$ descendent̃ ab eisđ redđ đ̛no $p$ annū .vj. s . viij. đ . ad fm sc̃i Mich.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{3}-$
Et omes $\mathfrak{p} d c ̃ i ~ d a b u ̄ t ~ u n a ̄ ~ v a c c a ̄ ~ q u o l ̉ ~ . i i j . ~ a n n o ~ i n ~ k t n ̃ ~$ Maii p Cömorth . Et val3 porc̃o cuiuslīt anni.ij. © s.ij. đ. Et facient oĩa şuic̃ $\mathfrak{z}$ cons̃ ut dẽ̃i tenentes de prria de Landewybreny.

Llannon.
Eynon ap Wrymm . Cadogañ ap Ieu"n' $\mathfrak{t}$ Ieun ap Howel . iurati ibiđ dicunt pacr̃m eoz q̃a plit 'z pquiš Cur̃ itm transeūt cū Cur̃ de Landewy Aberarth. İ̃ dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ est itm unus lectus qui dicitr ${ }^{\text {Gwely }}$ de quo sunt dẽi iurã̃ cū sequela ' descendent ab eisđ redđ đno $p$ annū $\cdot \mathrm{rj}$. s̃ .viij. đ ad fm sc̃i Micћ.

## $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ -

Et oñes p̂dc̃i dabūt quoļ .iijo. anno in ktū Maii unā vacẽ
[Fol. 38.]
Libi.
Infra parochiam de Llansanfrede. ${ }^{i}$

Seruic̃.
[Fol. 39.]
Tenent ibm.

It dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ sunt $i \hbar m$.iiijor. lecti de quibz $p^{\text {ímus }}$ rocat ${ }^{r}$. Gwely Euewris de quo sunt tenent Lewet Capttus Gruff ap Ieunn $\mathfrak{Z}$ eozz cōporc̃ Et redđ đno $\mathrm{p} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$.v. s̃ ad fm sc̃i Mich . Et sc̃dus lectus ror . Gwely Oyroñ. redewyth de quo sunt tenentes Yweryth fit Gronou Ieuan ap Ricarđ. Res ap Gr̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ eoç comporc̃ . Et redđ đno p annū .v. s̃ eođ $\mathfrak{t}$. Et .iij${ }^{\rho}$. lect ${ }^{\text {² }}$

[^183]Extent of St. David's, 1326.
App. C. vor . Oyroñ cuelyn de quo sūt tenentes Gruff ap Res. Ieuan A.D. ap Adafe 't eoz comporc̃ . Et redđ đno pa $\mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$. v. š eođm ?mino.
1326.
[Fol. 54
Liti.

Archnatus Brechoñ . Glastoñ.
It̃m dicūt $̆$ q̣d sunt $i \hbar m$.iij. lecti qui vulgo vocantr ${ }^{\text {G }}$ wele . De po Gwele est stipes Crege 't descendentes ab eođ redđ đno $p \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{m}}$.iiij. s . ad fm sc̃i Mich. Et de sc̃do lecto est stipes Kenyllyn 't descend ab eođ redđ đno p annū .iiij. s̃ eođ tio . Et de .iij. lecto Kywryđ est stipes ‘t descenđ ab eođ redđ đno p a ${ }^{m}$.iiij. š . eod tio.

Sm -xij. s̃.

## APPENDIX D.

INQUISITION CONCERNING THE SEIZURE BY PRINCE LLEWELYN OF LANDS HELD IN DOWER BY A WIDOW, AND CHARTERS OF GRIFFIN, SON OF MADOC, LORD OF BROMFELD, GRANTING THE VILLÆ OF HENGEMERE, LANERPANNA, AND CNOLTON, AND THE MANOR OF EYTUNE, IN MAELOR SEYSNEK, TO EMMA, HIS WIFE, FOR HER LIFE; AND CONFIRMATION BY HIS SONS MADOC, LLYWELYN, OWEN, AND GRIFFIN, A.D. 1270.

> Chancery Inquisition post Mortem, ǒ Edw. I., No. 78, Public Record Office.

Edwardus Dei gr̃a Rex Angł Dñs Hitn ' $\not$ Dux Aquit dilc̃o $\mathfrak{Z}$ fideli suo Guncelino de Batelesme Iustic̃ suo Cestr̃ salutem. Monstrauit not Emma que fuit $\nabla \tilde{\mathrm{x}}$ Griffini fił Madocii q̃d cum ipa tenuisset Maneria de Ouertoñ Z Etoñ cum

APp. D.
A.D. 1270. ptiñ 't quastlam frras 7. teñ in Maylor Sesneke de dono p̂dc̃i Griffini $q^{\circ}$ ndam viri sui Habend ad totam vitam eiusdem Emme et ip̃a in pacifca seisina Mañiog fraç 'z teñ phdẽo semp hactenus sc̃dm çsuetudinē pciū illa̧̧ extitit Balti ñri de Brumeffeud ipam a seisina sua Mañioz tray 't teñ illoz eiecerunt et ea ei adhuc detinent in ippius Emme dāpnū nō modicum 't gatuamen Nos igitr$^{\text {r }}$ sup p̂missis ĉtiorari volentes, vot mandam ${ }^{\text {² }}$ q̆d p sacr̃m pboǧ Z leğ hōiñm de ptib; de Brummeffend pquos rei veritas melius sciri pofit diligent ${ }^{9}$ inquiratis, quis Mania illa ث̂ras 7 teñ pfate Emme contulit, et si ei collata fûnt tenenda ad $\mathfrak{t} m i n u \bar{u}$ vite $p$ feoffamentum p̂fati Griffini ũl in dotē et si ad $̂$ ẗminū vite qualit $\mathfrak{Z}$ quomodo $\mathfrak{Z}$ si in dotem

App. D quali民 't quomodo et si $p$ baltos ñros unl alios eiecta fuit a
A.D. 1270.
(m. 2.) seisina sua p̂dc̃a et si $p$ balłos ñros qualî $\mathfrak{t}$ qua de causa . et si palios $p$ quos ${ }^{7}$ qualit' qua de causa Et inquisicõem inde distincte $\mathfrak{Z}$ apte fc̃am sub sigillo ṽro $\mathfrak{Z}$ sigilf eoz $p$ quos fc̃a fuit not sine dilõe mittatis 't hoc bre $\tilde{T}$ me ip̃o ap̃d Wygorñ vj die Juł anno r̃ $\tilde{n} q^{i} n t o$.

Inquis̃ fc̃a p Guncelinū de Badelesme Iustic̃ Cestr̃ die
 Fardoñ sc̃dm tenorē br̃is đ̉ni Reg̃ sibi directi p subsciptos videlicet Houel ab Lewelyn. Ingnon fit Lewelyñ. Yoruerth fit Kenewrike. Joruerth fit Griffuñ. Houa fit Pti. Maddoke fif Houel. Houa Waghan. Maddoke Waghan . Kenewrike fr̃em eius. Kenewrike fit Yonas. Houen fr̃em eius. Howeyn fi Płi. Bletそin Wich. Blethin fit Maddoci . Gronou fit Ythel . Kenewrike fit Lewelyn . Kenewrike fit Griffuñ ' Geruasium fit Eyner. Juratos . qui dicūt sup sacr̃ū sū̄ q̃d Griffinus de Brumfeld quando Emmam fif Henr̃ de Aldethelig̃ duxit in vx̃m dedit eidē Emme Mañiū de Oủtoñ ' Malor Saysneke cū ō̄ibz ptiñ ad $\mathfrak{\text { Iminū}}$ vite sue 't eadem Emma p balliuū suū Jur̃ omnia explet̃ dc̃i Mañii cep̃ ad opus suū $p^{i}{ }^{i} u m$ toto ťpe vite dc̃i Griffini viri sui . Requisiti :' si illud Maniū cū Malor Saysneke collatū fuit eidē nõie feofamenti val dotis . dicūt ${ }^{\text {qu }} \mathrm{p}$ feoffamentū dẽi Griffini $\mathfrak{t}$ p cartam suam quam porexit ibidem. Req ${ }^{i}$ siti :' $q^{\text {a }}$ lî ' $q$ quomodo dc̃a Emma venit ad mañiū de [E]yton dicūt $\mathfrak{y} d$ dc̃m Mañiū fuit eschaeẽ dc̃i Griffini p mortē Howet fris eius. ${ }^{7}$ postq${ }^{\text {a } m}$ idem Griffinus inde
 Emmerx̃ sue. Reqisiti . si noĩe dotis $\mathfrak{v} l$ feoffamenti . dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ p feoffamentū $\mathrm{t} p$ quandā cartā $q^{a} m$ porrexit ibiđ que illud idē testat ${ }^{r}$ Simul cū cōfirmacõe heređ dẽ̃i Griffini $q^{\text {a }} \mathrm{m}$ eidē Emme fecerūt post mortē dc̃i Griffini 't cū cōfirmacõe Lewelini tunc $p^{i} n c i p i s$ Walł que ōes donacões gfirmauit. Requis : $q^{\text {allit }}$ $7 q^{\circ}$ modo. dicūt ${ }^{\circ} d$ gsuetudo Walt est ${ }^{\text {q.d }}$ vnusqisq, Walicus ad voluntatē suā dare potest $v \tilde{x}$ sue terras' 7 ten sua ante sponsalia čil post put sibi cederit polūtati. Reqisiti : si p balłos đni

Rege dc̃a Emma eiecta fuit de fris 'z teñ p̂dc̃is ỹ1p alios: Apr. D. Dicūt q̃a post mortē dc̃i Griffini eadē Emma stetit in seis de omiby Pris' t teũ plac̃is usq Guerram inceptam inी Angt 't Walł
A.D. 1270. Z extunc eo q̃d dẽa Emma fuit ad fidē đni Rege in Angł dẽus Lewelinus ipsam de omibz fris' $\mathfrak{Z}$ teñ p̂dcís eiecit $\mathfrak{t}$ dc̃as fras ' teñ reddidit Madoco if Griffini. Dicūt $\mathfrak{t}$ q̃d consuetudo Wallie tał $\tilde{q}^{d}$ quocienscūq, aliquis $\hat{p}$ timore guerre $\tilde{\mathrm{v}}$ alia occ̃one reliquerit Pram suā 'z recesserit de Wallia ad alias ptes bene licebit đno Pram illā seysire tāq${ }^{\mathbf{a}}$ escaetā suam ${ }^{7}$ fače inde voluntatee suam.

## [Endorsed]

dedit x. łi . redditus de Maylor Seysueke '7 ptē đđicą̧ de Oủtoñ scilt $g^{\text {an }}$ giam in bosco $\mathfrak{t}$ assart que eadē Emma assartauit $\mathfrak{Z}$ piscar̃ $\mathfrak{7}$ Molenđ.

Expectet reditũ regis a Wallia.
Sciant presentes ' futri ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ ego Griffinus fit Madoci dĩs (m. 3.)
 presenti carta mea cōfirmaui đne Emme rxor̃ mee legitime filie đni Henr̃ de Audidele totam patiam que rocatr Maylorseysnec quoad uixerit vidett Manium de Oûtoñ cū Molenđ ' Gurgite 'z omiby aliis ptiñ suis, villam de Hengem̂e cū suis ptiñ. Villam de Lanerpanna cū suis ptiñ. Cnoltoñ cū suis ptiñ $\mathfrak{Z}$ omes villas que infra limites $\widehat{\text { plc̃e }}$ patie de Mailorseysnec cōtinentr ${ }^{\text {put }}$ ego melius $\mathfrak{Z}$ liberi' ${ }^{\text {d }}$ dãam patiam hui $\mathfrak{Z}$ dare potui. ita tamen ăd nō possit dčam patiam ũl aliqqa${ }^{2}$ ptē eiusdē dare vendere ũl inuadiare ũl aliquo modo alienare . set post obitū illis ${ }^{\text {s }}$ pdc̃a
 nō subtahatr . Et ut hec mea donac̃o 't cōcessio quoad uixerit rata 'Z stabit pmaneat ${ }^{\text {p}}$ sens sciptū sigilli mei inpressione robboraui.

Hiis testibz đno Aniano Ep̃o de Sc̃o Asaf. đno Yarwarth abte de Talle crucis. Madoco. Leulino. Oweno. Griffino . filis meis. Dno Dauid decano de Bromfeld. Nennean fit

Apr. D. Ener. Riric fit Ener . Griffry fit Ener . Yeua Vawan . Gorono
A.D.
1270. (m. 4.) fit Hithel. Bledint fit Yarwarth $\mathfrak{t}$ aliis.

Sciant p̂sentes $\mathfrak{Z}$ futuri $\tilde{q}$ ego Griffinus filius Madoci dñs de Bromfelđ assensu 't consensu ћedū meǒ̆ dedi concessi 't hac $\hat{p}$ senti carta mea confimaui đne Emme uxori mee legitime filie đni Henr̃ de Aldedeleg̃ totū Mañiū meū de Eytune in Malauor Kemeraec cū ō̄ibz ptiñ suis infra villā ' $\mathfrak{t}$ exta in dominiis in boscis in pcis in campis in planis in patis in pascuis in pasturis in viis in semitis aq ${ }^{i}{ }^{i}$ stagnis viuariis gurgitiby piscariis Molendinis 't in omibz libtatib; 't aisiamentis quas $\hbar u i \tilde{u}^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \hbar[\mathrm{ere}]$ potui $\mathfrak{Z}$ in omibs aliis ptiñ suis p̂dc̃o Mañio spctantib; vna cū qadā Terra que jacet infra clausū pci de Eytune q ${ }^{\text {am }}$ dũs Howelus pie memorie emit de omibz $\hbar$ たedibz de Herbystoke Reddēdo eisdem annuatim xij galones ceruis̃ ũl p̂ciū ea̧̧dē ad fest̃ Sc̃i Michis vna cū quadā

 't hedibj meis, $\mathrm{s}^{\mathrm{i}}$ in tota vita sua adeo libo $\mathfrak{Z}$ Integro sicuti ego $u m q^{a} m$ litius $\mathfrak{Z}$ plenius illud ћui ũl $\hbar r e$ potui Ita tamen $\tilde{q}^{d}$ post decessū $p$ dc̃e đne Emme reûtat ${ }^{\text {p }}$ p dc̃m Mañiū cū ō̄ib; ptiñ suis [mihi] 't herea meis Reddendo inde annuati $M^{i} 7$
 fest̃ Sc̃i Michis p ō̄i ŝuic̃o sc̃lari exacc̃one ' $\mathfrak{Z}$ demanda. Ego ûo dc̃us Griffinus ' h hedees mei phac̃m Maniin cū omibz ptiñ
 hoĩes Warantizabim ${ }^{9} \mathfrak{Z}$ defendem ${ }^{9}$. In cui ${ }^{9}$ rei testimoñ huic $\mathrm{sc}^{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{p}$ to sigillū meū apposui.

Hiis testibz fre Aniano tūc Eño de Sc̃o Assaptı . fr̃e Geruasio tūc Abظe de Valle Crucis . Madoco. Lewelino. Oweyno . Griffino filiis meis . Dauiđ tūc Decano de Bromfelđ . Juna fit Ahur. Ahur fit Iunaf. Huna fit Loreuret. Greno fit Ioreuert. Lewelino fit Eyner. Iuna Vauehan. Nennio fit Ener. Ithenanet fit David 't aliis.
[Endorsed] Emma filia Griff ap Madoc.
$\tilde{R}$ ine Inquis de $A^{\circ} \cdot \mathrm{vj}^{\circ} \mathrm{A}$ ui.

## Inquisition and Charters, A.D. 1270.

Sciant $\hat{p}$ sentes $\mathfrak{z}$ futuri $\mathfrak{q} d$ nos Madocus Leuuelins Owens Griffinus filii Griffini đni de Bromfeld concessim² ${ }^{2}$ hac psenti carta ñra cōf ${ }^{1}$ manim ${ }^{9}$ đ̉ne Enmme mat ${ }^{i}$ ñre $q^{\circ}$ ad uix̉it oñs

App. D.
A.D. 1270. fras ${ }^{7}$ omia tenementa que dñs Griffing ${ }^{9} \mathrm{p} r$ ñr in vita sua eide (m. 5.) dedit't cōcessit Videļ patiam de Mailor Saisenec cū suis ptiñ Mañiū de Oûtoñ cū Molendino $\mathfrak{z}$ gurgite $\mathfrak{t}$ omibj aliis ptiñ. Villam de Hagneme cū suis ptiñ. Lannerpanna cū suis ptiñ Coltoñ cū suis ptiñ 't oñs villas $\tilde{q}$ infa limites pat ${ }^{i} e$ de Mailor Saisenec cōtinentr . Mañiū de Eyton in Mailor Kemerac cū Molendino 't pco 't omibib aliis ptiñ Et duab; pticulis $\mathfrak{T r e}$ in dc̃o pco contentis quaş unā emit domin ${ }^{9}$ Houuelus filius Madoci de ō̄ibz ћedib; de Herbestoc. Reddendo eisdem annuatim xij galones Ceruisie ũl p̂ciū eaçdem ad fest̃ sc̃i Micћis Aliā ûo ptic̃lam tradiderūt predc̃i ћedes de Herbestoc sponte sua đno G . p̄ri ñro Villā de Lanarmon cū suis ptiñ in Kenlleitoñ una cū tris illis qas đna Ysota auia ñra ex consensu đni Madoci aui ñri ' đ đni $G$. p̂ris ñri emit de Cadegon 't Ririt 'z Einon filiis Doyoc que vocantr Lloytteir ' $\mathfrak{t}$ pstimanđ. H̃nda ' $\mathfrak{z}$ tenenda omia phdc̃a tenementa cū suis ptiñ de not ' $\mathfrak{t}$ たedibs ñris $q^{\circ}$ ad uixit put litius 't melius ctinentr in cartis eiđ a p̂dc̃o G . pre ñro cōfectis. Et ut $\hbar$ ñra cōcessio $\mathfrak{Z}$ p̂sentis carte ñre conf ${ }^{i}$ mac̃o


Hiis testibz đno Aniano Eño de Sc̃o Asaf. Dauiđ decano de Bromfelđ . Fĩe Kenewrike Priore de Buthlan . đno Geruasio Abte de Valle Crucis. Nennean fit Ener . Baric fil Ener. Yaruorth uoyl fit Yaruorth uauhan. Madoco uauhan fit Madoci fit Oweyn . Blethint fit Yaruorth. Huna fit Yarworth. Madoco fit Yeinaf. Eynon fit Lewelini . Gorono fit yaruorth. Lewelino fit Ener . Howelo fit Dauid. Yena fit Aur̃ . Aur̃ fit Yeina . Meuric Vauhan. Ithel fit Gorono . Yaruorth fi千 Wyon. Yena Vauhan $z$ aliis. Dat Dynasbrin in castino ti Thorñ Ap̂li Anno đni $\mathrm{M}^{\circ} \mathrm{cc}^{\circ}$ Lxx ${ }^{\circ}$.

## APPENDIX E.

## ENFRANCHISEMENT OF A GWELY OF NATIVI HOLDING IN TREFGIFRIF IN THE VILLA OF BRYNGWYN, A.D. 1355.

## APP. E

A.D.
1355.

Hec indentura facta inter Venerabilem Patrem dominum Iohannem Dei gratia Assaviensem Episcopum Decanum et Capituluin Assavenses ex una parte, et proprietarios et coheredes illius lecti rocati Gwely Gwarthhoet in villa do Bryngwynes . . . ex altera testatur Quod cum predicti proprietarii et coheredes semper ante hec tempora nativi vocati fuerunt et eorum terras et tenementa ibidem sub conditione trefgyfrif tenuerunt, predictus venerabilis Pater Decanus et capitulum pro se et successoribus suis ad supplicationem predictorum proprietariorum et coheredum ipsos et heredes suos et terras et tenementa ipsorum a conditione illa de cetero liberaverunt . et exoneraverunt in perpetuum et illos ejusdem conditionis sicuti et proprietarii [et coheredes] illius Lecti vocati Gwely Ithelwr in eadem villa existentis in omnibus fecerunt, ita quod predicti proprietarii et coheredes predicti lecti vocati Gwely Gwarthhoet et heredes sui de cetero in perpetuum solvant domino . . . marcas annui redditus in festo Apostolorum Philipi et Iacobi pro bac concessione habenda ubi antea quinque solidos hujus redditus in festo predicto solvere consueverunt In cujus rei testationem predicte partes huic indenture alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt His testibus Roberto ap Gruffud.tunc Ragloto domini Episcopi . Lew . . . ap Madoc Loyt . tunc yconomo ejusdem . Eden Moel ap Bleth Duy . tunc Ringildo ibidem. Eynon ap Ken ap Bleth. Lewarch ap Eign . Heilyn ap Bleth ap Grono et dumino Ithel Duy ap David ap Lewarch et aliis multis . Datum apud Sanctum Assaphum die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno Domini milessimo tricentessimo quinquegessimo quinto [1355].

## APPENDIX F.*

EXCHEQUER K. R. EXTENTS. ROLL 51.
Public Record Office.
Inquisic̃o capta ap̃d Lampadar̃ die Venis pã ante fm Nativitate bte Marie Anno Regã Rege Edwardi Ticesimo
 Mauric̃o de Nouo cast ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{p}$ đnos Johem de Foxeley ' $\mathfrak{~ T h o m i n ~ d e ~}$ Grauntebrygã pincipales auditores compoto̧̧ de tris đni $p^{\mathrm{i}}$ nciép toci ${ }^{9}$ Walte spałar assigã ad inquirend sup diûsis callumpin tangentibz comp̃ Henr̃ Le Yong̃ custođ mortue garnistre cast ${ }^{\text {i }}$ Pdc̃i de tempe đni $\tilde{T}$ de Miltoñ quondam camar̃ West Walfe que quiđ̈m callumpnie inferi ${ }^{9}$ patebunt $p$ responsiones iuratog vid; $p$ Wiltm cam Wiltm Levonner Walt̄m Wgith Dauid ab Walt Danid ygruge Walt ab Dauid burgens̃ ville de Lampadar̃ Wiltm plomñ Joћem de la Hey Janitorê Ric̃m de Lanley Sampson cłicum Robüuun le Marchal $\mathfrak{Z}$ Wiltm Hod existentes in garnistra cast ${ }^{\text {T }}$ Pdči Juratos Qui dicunt pacamentī suī q̆d dc̃s Henrics oñat se



 Et hoc $p^{\wedge} q^{a}$ habuit in $\hat{p}$ cept illud frum expoñe rendiĉ̃o Residuñ ${ }^{\text {Po }}$ illis fři expendié fuit p parte in porc̃ đni pascend

 rent Et de xix qurt̃ fat de quib; nō fit menc̃o in libacõo

[^184]
## Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.

App. F. Sua. Vendidit vj q $q^{\text {art }} \tilde{\mathrm{p}} \hat{\mathrm{p}} \tilde{c}$ cui ${ }^{9}{ }^{1}$; iij. s̃. iiij. đ. Et alia vj $q^{\text {a } r \tilde{t}}$ venđ $\mathfrak{p} \tilde{c}$ cui ${ }^{\ominus} 1$; $q^{a} r \tilde{t}$ ij. s. iiij. đ. Residuӣ expenđ in porce đni pascenđ Iťn đnt $\mathfrak{q} d$ iđm H. concessit hõib; prie xxvj
 de
 far̃ antiq̃ que adhuc remanent in castro licet in comp suo computentr ${ }^{r}$ in vendicõne Et de aliis xxxiiij q $q^{\text {art̃ }}$ far̃ venđ x
 $\tilde{q}^{\text {d }}$
credunt Dicūt $\tilde{\mathfrak{t}}{ }_{\text {a }}^{\text {de }}$ de bras̃ ca $\mathfrak{p} \mathfrak{Z}$ de bras̃ curš nō possunt đre aliud $q^{a} m$ in comp̃ dc̃i $H$. continet ${ }^{r}$ D̃nt $\tilde{\mathfrak{t}} \tilde{q}^{d}$ phdc̃s $H$. $x \mathrm{x}$
 iđm receñ $\mathfrak{p} c i u \bar{u}$ eo̧đđm licet contineat ${ }^{r}$ in comp̃ suo $\tilde{q}^{d}$ dñs Thom de Miltoñ debuisset recepisse. It̃m đnt $\mathfrak{q} d$ de vij dot vini compute in abiconne exta muros idm $H$. venđ $j$ dot in taЂnando vz lageñ p ij. đ. Et venđ alia iij doł Rogo le caremp $\hat{\imath}$ in grosso $p$ l. s̃. $\mathfrak{p s e n t i b j}$. . Const̃' $\mathfrak{t}$ quibydam aliis burgens̃ ville vnde iđm . . cons̃̌ fecit talt conta dẽm Rog̃m de suma p̂dc̃a 't eam tadidit dão Henr̃ noie ip̃i ${ }^{9}$ Rocìi Set dc̃s Roğs illud vinū nō quesiuit in cast ${ }^{\circ}$ que fuit causa ignorant iurati supãdẽi Residuū vini eictū fuit vt computatur Iťm đint ${ }^{\text {q d }}$ idm H . vt credunt bñ computauit dimiđ dot melt
 pã̃o cui ${ }^{9} \mathfrak{l}$ dot v. Marc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ dĩ Et alia tia dot remañt in cast ${ }^{\circ}$ vt in comp continetr. Itm đnt $\tilde{q} d$ iđm H. onat se min ${ }^{\text {e }} \mathrm{j}$ dot sat $q^{a} m$ deЂtet. It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ oñat se $\min ^{s} q_{3}{ }^{\text {a }}$ detet de iiij. đ. de pẽo cuìlz carcos boũ de lxv carcos̃ in comp suo vendite D̃nt $\tilde{t}$ q̃d illa lxv carcoš boũ fuer̃ sic vendita remans̄ñt de instauro empto tempe Rotti de Tybotot D̃nt $\tilde{\mathfrak{t}}$ 斤̈d de bacconibz $\mathfrak{Z}$ allec̃ nō possunt aliud diče $q^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{m} \tilde{q}^{\mathrm{d}}$ continet ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ in comp̃ p̂dc̃i Henr̃. Dicūt $\tilde{q}$ äd de D. dur̃ piscibs cōputate in comṕ suo remañ $\mathfrak{t}$ corrupt $\tilde{q} d$ iđm $H$. venđ quosdam nescitr ${ }^{r}$ tu

vendebantr $p$ j.đ. quidam $p j$ deñ $\mathfrak{z}$ ot 7 vt essent čti de nũo remanenciū fechunt eos num̂ar̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ inueñ̄̄̄t iiije $Z$ nō plus Dint $\tilde{t}$ ãd de cepo ferr plums carboñ Mar̃ ballist̃ baudr̃ $q^{\text {a }} \tilde{r}$ springat cacat pattelt $\mathfrak{Z}$ Cilic̃ ad torale nich possunt đ̉re
 lic; tūc ferrū remansit put compr in comp suo modo nō remañt $n^{i}$ cexrij pec̃ D̃nt $\tilde{\mathfrak{z}} \mathrm{q}^{d}$ iđm H. lit đno Tho de Miltoñ c. §̃. sñ talt ut bñ sciūt Dnt $\tilde{\mathfrak{q}}$ qd iđ H. nullū mel emit put computat in empeõib p ip̃m; fc̃is tempe T. de Miltoñ nisi tamé illud $̆$ q̃d miscuit cū melle antiq ${ }^{\circ}$ ' cú illo simul vendebatur $\mathfrak{Z}$ hoc apparet $\ddagger$ comp suū $q_{\text {, nō onat se in aliq }}{ }^{\circ}$ loco illi ${ }^{9}$ comp de melle empto Dicūt $\tilde{\mathfrak{t}} \tilde{\mathrm{q}} \mathrm{d}$ nō emit pilkorñ $\mathrm{n}^{c}$ cariauit fat $\mathrm{n}^{c}$ vina nec sal モmpe đni T. de Miltoñ si postea fečit dñs Wilts de Rogate qui nūc est carnaris poü testificar̃ In cuis rei testiõm sigilla pdc̃oz iuratoz̧ p̂senti inquisicooi sunt appensa.

Extenta de Dyneuor fc̃a die đnica In riğ annciac̃ois be Mar̃ anno r̃ r E. octauo Corā đno 't Henr̃ de Bray p sacament subsceiptoz rid; Wilti Vouchan Henr̃ ap Wronou Lewelin ap Kenewrec Griffit ap Owen Cradoc ap Eymer Cadugan ap Ioruad Res ap Howel Morgan ap Eymer Wiltmi ap Wronou Dauid ap Alisaundre Ioruad goch Madoc ap Res qui dicūt $p$ sac ${ }^{3} m e n \tilde{t}$ suū $\mathfrak{q} d$ est ibiđ̉m quoddam cast ${ }^{4} m$ nō dū plene repatū $\tilde{q} d$ si modo debito deberet repari custaret ad minus cc. łi.

It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ si puteus deberet fi ad aquam $\hbar$ ndam inf ${ }^{\text {a }}$ castrū custaret ad minus $x x x$ libas.

It̃m dicūt q̃d sunt ibiđm xxx acê Walenc̃ in đnico quag quil; ac ${ }^{2}$ val; $p$ Anñ iiij. đ. $\operatorname{Sm}^{a}$ x. s.

Itm dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ s suñ ibidm in đnico xriij act Walenc̃ $q^{\text {a }}$ ? q̃lib; val; p añ̃ vj. đ.

Smaix. š.

Sma viij. đ.

Apr. F. It̃m dicn̄t q̃d villa de Gleygon soluit de redđ asiso $£$ añ̃
 Pminū
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ iiij. $\mathrm{M}^{2}$ T.
It̃m dicūt $\check{y} d$ sunt ibi xiiij firmar̃ qui tenēt $j$ ac $c^{a} m$ Rre $\mathfrak{Z}$ $\operatorname{val}_{3} \mathrm{p}$ anñ ij. s. 't iiij. đ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ ij. s. Z iiij. đ.
Itm dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ ptita ${ }^{t}$ pquis̃ ${ }^{9}$ ietta 't lerewita valēt $p$ anñ x. ร. 't iiij. đ. $S m^{a}$ x. s. 't iiij. đ.
 anñ iij š ${ }^{\text {t iiij. }}$ d.
$S^{\text {a }}$ iij. s. 't iiij đ.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d l^{2} b^{2} e$ tenētes eiusđ̉m Westua dabūt đno $p$ anũ lxxiij busselł aueñ $\mathfrak{t}$ valēt $p$ anñ vj. š. 't j. đ.
$S m^{a}$ vj. š. Z j. đ.
Smª iiij. Łi. xv. s. ' $\mathfrak{\text { j. đ. }}$
Extenta de Karekenin cū cōmoto de Diskenin [Iskenin] coram p̂dc̃is p sr̃m pُdc̃ǫ Iurato̧̧. qui dicūt $p$ sc̃rm suū $̆$ d est ibi quoddam cast ${ }^{4} m$.
 valet $p$ anĩ vj. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ iiij. з.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ est itm quid comot ${ }^{9}$ que đr Diskenin $\mathfrak{t}$ cōtinz ix Westuas $q^{a} \xi$ quel ${ }_{3}$ Westua redđ $p$ anñ de redđ asiš iiij. Mã vid; ad iiij anni Pminos $q$ equli porcơe ad quēl; セtminū $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xxiiij. Łi.
It̃m dicn̄t $\tilde{q}^{d}$ vbi debentr if ${ }^{a}$ dẽm cōmo $\tilde{t} \mathrm{ij}$. đ. red đ ћebit đns j cribram aueñ que cribra val弓 j. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xij. ti .
q̃d deci Iurati nō dicūt cribra valer̃ in toto $p$ anñ $\mathfrak{u}$ t̃m xxvj 't viij. đ.
It̃m dicūt $\not \approx d$ sunt ibiđm $x v$ tenentes qui redd de redđ asiso vij. ร. 't debent nichomin ${ }^{9}$ custodire aủia đni de cōsuetudie 't val3 illud shuiciū iij. š. ix. đ. $p$ anũ
$S^{\text {a }}$ x. צ. ' 7 ix. đ.
It̃m dicūt q̃d est ibi quodđ Molendinū aqaticum 't valj $p$ anñ xiij. s. ' $\mathfrak{t i i j}$. đ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ xiij. s. ' $\ddagger$ iiij. đ.

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ debent sustētar̃ ibiđ ŝnientes de Teylu App. F. sup̃ibz patie 't vaļ illud şuiciū $p$ anñ liij. รั. ' iiij. đ.

It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ plita $\mathfrak{t}$ pqusiti ibiđ valēt $p$ anñ iiij. ti.
$S m^{2}$ iiij. ti .
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q}$ d $\hbar$ fietta $\mathfrak{Z}$ lerewita ibiđm valēt $p$ añ̃ $x x$. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xx}$. ร.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ quando dñs iret in aliq ${ }^{\text {a }}$ expedicõe teret auxiliū de hõib; suis eiusđ̉m cōmot̃ ' $\mathfrak{z}$ ralet illud auxiliū p anũ xl. s. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xl. s.
It̃m dicūt ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ est ibi quodđ $p^{\text {attū magnū in Montana quod }}$ cōting in se CCC acr̃ $\neq$ vocatr̃ Bren aye ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ d quiđđ $\mathrm{p}^{3} t \bar{u}$ nō ponitr ad aliquē valorē quia dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ nō inuenit ${ }^{r}$ aliquis in patia qui fenñ velud cōpare nec qui in dc̃o pato aûia velud ininstare [sic]
 val; pastura illius foreste p anñ x. š.
$\operatorname{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ x. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ pannağ eiusđ foreste rals $p$ anñ rj. s. ' t riij. d. $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ vj. s. 't riij. đ.
It̃m dicūt q̃d est ibid alia foresta que rocat ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ Brenaye $t$

$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xx} . \mathrm{s}^{\text {. }}$
Sma xlviij. [ti.] xviij. [ร. ' j ]. đ.
Memoranđ ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ Res ap Mereduc tenet iij Westuas de ballĩa đni Pagani de Cadurciis teñ quousq, dñs Rex fačet eiđ Reso excambeū $p$ ̂̂ra de Dineuor 't rocatr ${ }^{\text {Tra illa Mainormerbon- }}$
 pquisita nō potuerūt extendere quia ìra iacet inculta ${ }^{7} q^{2}$ si vacua. $S^{2}$ xij. $M^{a}{ }^{2} \tilde{c}$ Mainor Meibon Scesyl.

Extenta de Cardigan fãa coram đno Ric̃o de Exoñ ' Henur de Bray ap̣d Cardigan die M cur̃ in castino sũi Gregor̃

Apr. F. anno $\mathfrak{Y} \tilde{r}$ E. octauo $p$ subsci${ }^{i}$ ptos Jurator̃ vid3 Joh Penkoyd Wiltm Penkoyd Joћm fit đd Walt̃m Longū đd du Ađ Fader Liwelin Vouchan Kediuor Seys Liwelin ap Res Robt̃m Walens̃ Iouan ap Ioru ${ }^{\text {a }}$ d Griffit ap dun Qui dicūt p sacameñ̃ suū q̃d añd Cardigan est Castrum in quo est bona Turris.

Iťm dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ sunt ibi in đnico ccc ${ }^{\circ} t \operatorname{xxx}$ acr̃ $p$ min ${ }^{9}$.c. $q^{a} \xi^{2} q u i l z a^{a}$ valet $p$ añ iiij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ v. łi. x. s.
If̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ sunt ibi v ac $\left.c^{a_{S}} p^{a t i} q^{a}\right\}$ quilz valet $p$ añ̃ viiij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ iij. š. 't iiij. đ.
Iťm dicūt đ̃d ẽ queđ tira $\tilde{q}$ đr Nettpole $\mathfrak{t}$ val3 $p$ anñ ij. s. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{ij} . \mathrm{s}$.
Iťm dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ sunt ibiđ sil̉ in dẽa villa de Cardigan e 't xxx burgã̆ p mine .c. quo̧ quodlz redd $p$ anñ xij. š.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ vj. Łi. x. s.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ sunt ibid $\tilde{q} d$ sunt ibi [sic] $1 x^{ } t x$ chensarij

$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ lxx. š.
It̆m dicint fll est ibi quedam P̂ra in đnico que đr Watshulle 't val3 $p$ añ̃ xx. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xx}$. s .
It̃m dicūt qud est ibi quedam insula pasture in đnico cui ${ }^{9}$ рficuū vaļ̧ $£$ añ̃ vj. š. 't viij. đ. $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ vj. รั. 't viij. đ.

Iťm dicūt ăd phita 't pquis Hundr̃ de eađ̉m vaļ $p$ anĩ xxx. s̃.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xxx} . \mathrm{s}$.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ tolnetū $M$ ? cati de ead val3 $p$ anñ $x x$. s̃.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xx}$. \%.

litm dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ de qaalibs naui carcata de $x x x$ doleis vini ad $\min ^{9}$ et intante portū de Cardigan $\ddagger$ 隹it dñs de prisa sua duo dolea vini $p$ xl. š. quā prisam nesciunt estimare.

It̃m dicūt čal dins たebit de qalibz bracina çuisie inf ${ }^{\text {a }}$ đctam villam de Cardigan xiij lageñ çuisie p vj. đ. 't val; p anกิ x̣v. รั.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xv}$. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
Iẽm dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ sunt ibi $t^{i}{ }^{3}$ Molenđ aq ${ }^{a}$ tica $\mathfrak{Z}$ val; $p$ anñ vj. ti. 't xiij. s. ' Z iiij. đ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ vj. łi. 't xiij. s. ' iiij . đ.

$S m^{\text {a }}$ v. s.
It̃m dicūt q̃d libi Walens̃ reddunt $p$ añ̃ xviij. š. 't vj. đ. $S^{2}$ xviij. s. ' $\ddagger$ vj. đ.
It̃m dicūt q̃a Prior de Cardigan ten; quanđ pticulā ̂̂re $\mathfrak{Z}$ redđ p anñ vj. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ vj. đ.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ Rog̃s de Mortuomari ten; $j$ pticulam îre $\mathfrak{Z}$ redđ $p$ añ̃ vj. đ.

Sma ${ }^{\text {a }}$ j. đ.
Itm dicūt çjd libi Walens̃ reddūt $p$ añ̃ sil弓 in festo ap̃lǫ̧


It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ p $\mathfrak{p} c \tilde{i} i$ Walens̃ redđ $p$ anñ ij. vaccas sil; in festo $\mathfrak{p} d c ̃ o \check{c}$ Phi $\mathfrak{t}$ Jacobi phciū vacc̃ vij. s̃. $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{3}$ xiiij. š.

It̃m dicūt ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ ptita ${ }^{\text {t }}$ pquis̃ comitats de Cardigan valēt $p$ anñ iiij. fi.
$S^{\mathrm{a}}$ iiij. ti.
It̃m dicūt q̆d Pannag̃ ibidē ralı p anũ xij. đ.
Sm² xij. đ.

It̃m dicūt q̃ad libi tenētes debēt façe sectam ad comitatū de Cardigan de Mense ad mēsā.

It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}$ d quando balt de Cardigan deb; ire in exčcitū tūc đd fit ađ Wladusi fit Leuwerch Jo太 fit Worgennu debent cariare victū ipuius equos si $\hbar u e r i n t$.

Lirelinus fit ptin deb; vigilare dñm dū fuit in exčcitū ap̄d Cardigan.
 Ita tamé $\tilde{q} d$ si inueniatur sup $\operatorname{Pram}$ alicui ${ }^{9}$ liti tenentis dc̃i đni $\mathfrak{Z}$ valeat plusq${ }^{a} m \mathrm{v}$ soł dũs hebit dc̃m wrec 't dabit lite tenēti $\begin{gathered}\text {. s. } \\ \text {. }\end{gathered}$ Sm² xxxv. ti. xiij. s. 't x. đ.

Extenta de Kermidin coram đuo Ric̃o de Exoñ $\mathfrak{z}$ Heñ̃ de Bray ap̣d Kernîdin die Luñ px $x^{a}$ añ festū anūciacõis te Marie anno $\tilde{r}$ r̂ E. Octano p sacament supasciptoz Meylir Vauchan Ric̃us le chapman Smoũ de de Bedeford Nicti

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
App. F. King Thomí le clerke Thom Wint Nich Sinund Res Kreg Walt Iuneñ Thoñ Bulpen Ioћ Luring Maur̃ Bernard Qui dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ est ibi $\tilde{q}^{d} d a m$ castum in quo est queđ bona [ ] ex v puis turribz cōstructa.

Ittm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi $x x$ acr̃ $\mathfrak{~} r e$ in đnico que Pra vocatr


Itm dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ sunt ibi xij acr̃ $̂$ Tre in đnico in quodam loco qui đr Kildeuor quą quelz acr̃ val; $p$ anñ viij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ viij. $\frac{\text { s. }}{}$
Iñm dicūt q̃d sunt ibi lxxviij acr̃ fre in đnico quas firmarij tenēt ad voluntatē đni ' $\mathfrak{t}$ val; $\tilde{q}^{\prime} l i b ;{ }^{2} c^{a} p$ anñ viij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ lij. s.
If̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ sunt ibi . . . . pati in Redcors 't $v$ acr̃ $p^{a}$ ti in Dethoc $q^{a} \ldots$. . ' valj $p$ anñ iij. s. ' t iiij. đ. Z iiij. đ.
Iťm dicūt ${ }^{\text {qud }}$ d sunt $\mathrm{ibi} \ldots$. . acr̃ $p^{\mathrm{a} t i}$ vlt $^{\mathrm{a}}$ cewi ex


S . . . . . ' viij. đ.
It̃m dicūt q̃a burgens̃ p plc̃e ville de Kermidin dant đno p cōmuna . . . . . p añ̃ x. š.

It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ sunt in dẽa villa de Kermonn c. 'Z lxix burgag̃ p minus . . . . rg̃ valз p . . . . .

Iťm dicūt q̃d sūt ibi iiijxx $\mathfrak{~ t}$ vj qui dicuntr burgens̃ de vento quož qulibz solu . . . . $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$

It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ sunt ibi xxij chensar̃ quoz quilz soluit $p$ añ̃ vj. đ. $S m^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xj}$. s.
$\operatorname{lťm}$ dicūt ${ }^{q} d$ sūt ibi curtilagia 't valent $p$ añ̃ v. s. 't j. đ̃. $S^{a}$ v. s. 't j. đ.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ t̂ra Ric̃i Faucon val $\mathfrak{y}$ p anñ ij. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ ij. š.
Iñm dicūt çd Thom Vollen tenet quanđ turrim ' redđ p anũ iij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ iij. đ.
Iñn dicūt ğ̣d płita 't pquisit Hundredi de Kermindin valēt p anũ lx . รั.
$S^{2}$ lx. s̃.

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
Item dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ tolletū $M$ Cati ibidem valet $p$ anñ viij. $\ddagger \mathrm{i}$. $\qquad$
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ viij. ti.
 $S^{8}{ }^{8}$ v. ti. vj. s. 't riij. đ.
It̃m dicūt ${ }^{\text {q̆d }}$ prisa vini ibidm val3 $p$ anñ C. s. Sm $^{2}$ C. s.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ dñs $\hbar t$ iij ptes Molendinū $\tilde{q} d$ vocat ${ }^{r}$ C'ewismulle 't valet p an n xxx. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xxx}$. s.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ sunt ibi vj gurgites in $a q^{a}$ de tewi $\mathfrak{t}$ valēt cū piscar̃ $p$ anñ lx. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{lx} . \tilde{\mathrm{s}}$.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ est ibi quedam piscar̃ ex supiori pte pontis ' ${ }^{\text {valet }} \mathrm{p}$ anñ viij. s̃. $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ viij. ริ.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ Thom Bolpen redđ $£$ quođ $\mathrm{p}^{\text {ato }}$ ap̃d Redcors dī łi pipis peciū iiij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ iiij. đ.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ Joћ Luring redđ $p$ quođ $\mathrm{p}^{\text {àto }}$ in loco pdc̃o $p$ anñ dĩ lit pipis pciū iiij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ iiij. đ.
 vnā lit simini p̂ciū j. đ.
$S^{\mathrm{a}}$ j. đ.
 Leylond j liba simini peciū j. đ. $S_{m}{ }^{\mathrm{a}}$ j. d.
$\operatorname{ltm} \mathrm{M}^{đ}$ q̃d ficia ps cuisdam molenđi quod rocat ${ }^{r}$ Dāmmyle aleniata fuit têpe đni Edmūdi q̃ quiđ ps valèt p anñ $j{ }^{2}{ }^{a}$ rcam $\mathfrak{Z}$ incartata fuit domini ${ }^{1}$ hospitat de Flebech [Slebech] p dinm Edmūdum post vltimã extentam.

## Adhuc de extenta de Kermidin.

Jurat̃ dicūt q̃d est ibi forinseca t̂ra exta rillã que quiđ fra dr Redraw 't clodor Kediuor 'z illā Êā tenēt libi Wallenš 't reddūt $p$ eađ $p$ anñ vij. š. iiij. đ. ' $\mathfrak{o}$. ' ' faciūt sectam ad comitatū. Sma vij. s. iiij. đ. ' õ.
Et scienđ ãd tenentes phẽam t̂ram de Raderau 't cet̃a dant $p$ releuijs ij . s. ${ }^{7} \mathrm{t} p$ seisina fire ћnda ij . s.

It̀m dicūt q̃d Walens̃ Heluet de pte đni Reg̃ de Derlis̃ Ł Widigad̉a dant đ̉no p anñ xxij aûia dĩđm aûiū そ t̂ciam ptē

[^185]App. F. vni ${ }^{\ominus}$ auer̃ $\hat{p} c i \bar{i}$ cuiuslj auerij v. ऊ. 't licitū est đno crpe deñ uel aûia $p$ voluntate sua.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ iiij. ti. ix. s. ij. đ.
$\operatorname{Itm}$ dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ releuia $W$ alens̃ ibiđm valent $p$ anñ xl. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2} \mathrm{xl}$. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ ptita ${ }^{\text {'t }}$ pquis comitat ${ }^{\text { }}$ tam Anglicǫ q $^{\text {a m }}$ Walenciū valet $p$ añi xj. łi.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xj} .7 \mathrm{fi}$.
It̃m dicūt q̃d cū dñs volưit Walens̃ cariabūt memiū de bosco usq, cast ${ }^{\text {u }} \mathrm{m}$ de Kerming.
$S^{2}$ lxviij. łi. v. s. iiij. đ. 't õ.
Estenta Pray West Wallie.
Cōmot ${ }^{\text {º }}$ de Meuenth.
(m. 4.) Jurat̃ dẽi Cōmot́ sily Griffit Crau Ieuan Meylir Owen ap Griffit Res̃ ap Grifit goch Madoc Voil ap Griffit ap Madoc Howel ap Willi Griffit ap Wiltm Griffit goch ap Lewelin Iouan ap Ener Iouā ap Griffit ap Iouan Madoc Vauchan Griffit ap Madoc dicūt p s̃cr̃m sū̄ q̃d dñs Rex hit ibidm in đnico $j$ dĩ Rantir que vocatr ${ }^{\text { }}$ Geylbach Gorlby que extenditur $p$ anũ ad xiij. š. iiij. đ.

It̃m tit in đnico ibiđ quanđ pticulam fre que vocat ${ }^{r}$ Treuenant 't Treuedin 't estimatur p anũ vij. ร. 't x. d.

If̃m dicūt č̃d dĩs $\begin{aligned} & \text { tit in } \\ & \text { dẽo Cōmoto quanđ̉ aliam pticulam }\end{aligned}$ Tre que vocat ${ }^{\text {P Trefonion }}$ ' extendit ${ }^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{p}$ anñ ad v. s.

Dicīt ecciam ģd dñs tit ibiđm in đnico quond fram que vocat ${ }^{r}$ Roysmayde ${ }^{\text {If }}$ extenditur' p anĩ viij. š. 't iiij. đ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathbf{a}}$ extent $\mathfrak{t r a}$ ª̨ de đnico in deũ xxxiiij. s. 't vj. đ.
Dicūt eciam dêi Iurã̃ $\mathfrak{q} d$ in dẽo cōmoto sunt viij Westuas $\mathrm{q}^{\mathrm{a}}$ \% quel; Westua ctinet in se v Randirs 't quil弓 Randir extenditur p anĩ de redđ assĩo ad x. š. Z viij. đ. vid; ad iiij anni $\uparrow$ minos $p$ equli porc̃oe ad quël 3 Pminū

$$
\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xxj.} \mathrm{ti.} \mathrm{vj.} \mathrm{s.} \mathrm{ๆ} \mathrm{viij.} \mathrm{đ.}
$$

racat. qua supius.

Dicūt ecciam cụl quel; Westua $\tilde{q}$ solebat pasče dĩm cū familia sua $q^{\text {at }}$ in anno 't Weysenteylu venatores cū canibz 116
đni falconarios cū auib; paduents suos q̃d quiđ ŝniciū vocatur
 q̃d quel; Westua debet redđe ad quēl; \{ Pminū j Mã rid; ad iiij anni f̂minos ut sup ${ }^{2} \quad \mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ xxj. †i. vj. ริ. 7 viij. d.

Dicūt ecciam $\tilde{q}^{d}$ viij ŝuient̃ de Kers debent pasci inf ${ }^{\wedge}$


$$
S^{2}{ }^{\text {a }} \text { xij. ti. iij. s. iiij. đ̄. }
$$

Dicūt ecciam $\mathfrak{q} d$ ij garc̃ ' $\mathfrak{i j}$ equi đni debent sustentari $\inf ^{\text {a }}$ dc̃m cōmot̃ a festo õium sc̃ǫ usq, festũ applǫ̧ Phi q Jacobi ' extendit ${ }^{r}$ sustentac̃o cui ${ }^{\ominus}$ lib; garc̃ cū equo in die ij. d. ut supius.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{lx}$. ร. ' iiij. đ.
Dicūt ecciā ãd $j$ garc̃o $\mathfrak{Z} j$ equo Raglou debet sustentari inf $^{\text {a }}$ dc̃m cōmot p iđm tēpus 't extenditr illud ŝuiciū ad ij . đ. in die ut supius.

Dicūt ecciam äd liti Walenš de eođ cōmoto dabūt auenā ad p̂benđ dextarij đni vid; quil; Walens̃ $j$ cribram aneĩ 't extenditr ${ }^{\mathrm{q}}{ }^{\mathrm{e}} \mathfrak{j}$; cribra aueñ ad j . đ.

Dicūt ecciam q̃d fines ptita $\mathfrak{Z}$ pquis̃ extendunt ${ }^{r} p$ anũ ad x. $\mathfrak{i}$. $\mathrm{Sm}^{2} \mathrm{x}$. ti.
Itm dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ đietta releuia 'z leremita valent $p$ anñ $c$. s.

$$
\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{c} . \frac{\text { s. }}{}
$$

It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ Pannag̃ porcoğ de cōsuetudie rals $p$ anñ xx. s. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathbf{3}}$ सx ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ quociens dũs iret in expedic̃e aliqua fũa geñali sumonicơe de eundo secū de quol; domi morant̃ sine licencia そebit dñs j aûiū ¿ैcij r. ड. ūd nesciunt extendere.

It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ quando dñs iret in expedic̃oe ext ${ }^{a}$ comita $\tilde{t}$ de Cardigan ${ }^{\text {q.d }}$ ћebit de $\mathrm{q}^{\mathrm{a} l}$; Westua iij. s. 'z iiij. đ. $\mathfrak{q} d$ nesciunt extendere. $S^{2}$ Lxur. fi. xvij. s. 'z j. đ.

Extenta de Cōmot̃ Heninioc.
Iurati dči coñti silj C'adugan ap Letheri Griffit ap Iorusd Griffit pson Madoc ap Gronou đd ap Ithel Felip Vouchan Madoc ap Liwelin ap Ithel Madoc ap đd Hernon ap đd B B 117

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
App. F. Griffit Vouchan Liuelin Forsat ' I Madoc ap Henr̃ dicūt $p$
 Westuas respondent đno Reg̃ 't residue Eño Meneuenc̃ 't Abtti de Stata Florida $q^{\text {ă }}$ y sex Westua quelibz Westua cōtinet in se $v$ Randirs ' $\mathfrak{t}$ respundit quil; Randir de redđ asiso $p$ anũ de xiij. s. 'Z iiij. đ. vidz ad iiij anñ Pminos $p$ eqali porčõe ad quēlz $\mathfrak{\text { Îminū }}$
$\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ xvj. fi .
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ quelz $W$ Westua solebat pasçe dñm cū familia sua quat̃ in anno 't Weysonteulou venator̃ cū canibz falconar̃ cū auibz suis $p$ suos aduent ${ }^{9}$ q̃d quidem ŝuiciū vocat ${ }^{r}$ Weest. 't extēditr in qualz Westua ad iiij $M^{a}$ cas $p$ anñ soluend ad iiij annos Pminos ut sup ${ }^{\text {a }}$ p equli porcõe 7 c̃. $\quad \mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xvj. ti.

It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ vj ŝuientes de Keys debēt pasci infa dc̃m

$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ ix. Łi. ij. s. 7 x . đ.
It̃m dicūt ỹd ij garcơn 't ij equi đıi debēt sustentar̃ inf ${ }^{\text {a }}$ dẽm cōmỡ a festo omium sc̃ož usq, festū ap̃lo̧̧ Phi 't Jacobi $\mathfrak{Z}$ extendit ${ }^{r}$ sustentac̃o cui ${ }^{1}$ l’ garcơis cū eguo in die ut supius $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ lx. s. ' $\mathfrak{t i i i j}$. đ. silz ballio pat'e
It̃n dicūt $\mathfrak{q}$ d j garc̃ $\mathfrak{t}$ j equus Raglou debet sustentar̃ infa dẽm cōmōt $p$ iđm tempus $\mathfrak{t}$ extenditur illud suiciū ad ij. đ. in die ut supius $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{xxx}$. s. $^{\text {T }} \mathrm{ij}$. đ.
Iẗm dicūt q̃a liti Walens̃ de eođ̉ cōmoto dabūt auenā ad pbenđ dextarrij đni vidz quilz Walēs̃ j cribrā aueñ 't extenditr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ quelz cribra aueñ ad j. đ.
$S m^{a}$ iiij. s. 't vij. đ.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ fines phita ' pquis eiusđ cōmoti valēt $\mathbf{p}$ anñ ix. $\ddagger$. $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ ix. $\ddagger \mathrm{i}$.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q}$ d ћietta releuia 't lerewita valēt $p$ anñ C. s̃.

Itrm dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ pannag̃ . de cōsuetudīe vaļ $p$ anñ xl. s̃.
It̃m dicūt q̃d est ibi quoddà Molendĩm cuì due ptes ptinèt ad regē $\mathfrak{t}$ valét ille due ptes $p$ anĩ $x x$. s.
Sma xx. s.

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ quociens dñs iret in expedic̃oe aliqua fc̃a geñali sumonicơe de eundo secū de q̃olib; domi morante sine licencia ћebit dñs j aủiū p̂cii จ. sั.

It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d[\quad]$ dñs iret in expedicơe ext ${ }^{\text {a }}$ coñ $d e$ Cardigan $\tilde{\mathrm{q}}$ d tebit de $\mathrm{q}^{\text {alib; Westua iij. s. }}$. iiij . đ.

Sma lxiij. ti, ' 7 xj. đ.

Extenta Ville de Treuillan.
İm Iurati dicūt $\tilde{\eta}^{\mathrm{q}}{ }^{\text {est }}$, ibiđ̉m quedam f̂ra in đnico que val; p anñ xxrj. s. ' triij. Sm³ xxvj. s. ' viij. đ.

It̃m dicūt $̆$ ğd est ibi queđ $\mathfrak{t r} r a q u e ~ đ r ~ \hat{t r a}$ de Leswen $\mathfrak{z}$ valet $p$ anñ liij. s. ' $\neq$ iiij. đ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {² liij. s. }}$ 子 iiij. đ.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ opa ' $\mathfrak{Z}$ cōsuetudines custimarioç ibiđ̉m valent p anñ ij. s.
$S^{\text {a }}{ }^{\text {ij. }}$. s.
Sm² iiij. łi. ' ij. s.
$S^{2}$ smán $^{2}$ lxrij. ti. ij. s. 7 xj. đ.
Extenta Mañij de Lampadraur fc̃a in castino Sc̃i Mathie apli anno $\tilde{r}$ r Edwardi Octauo coram dno Ric̃o de Exoñ '7 Mag̃ro Henr̃ de Bray p Mandã đ̉ni Reg̃ p sacmét subsciptoç

Cōmot̃ Puith.
Res gou $\tilde{\mathrm{V} m}$ ap đd ap Codugan Dđd ap Lewelin Griffit gouch Wurgeniu ap Kediuor Wronou gouch Res ap Iouan Iouan Waucham Madoc ap Ioruad Iuor ap Griffit Ađ ap Madoc gothel Meredit ap Iorud qui Iur̃ dicūt $p$ sacament̃ suū q̆d est ibi quidam sitis castri cū villa Muro lapideo inclausa que quidē silla contin; in longitudie vid3
lxxr pticas $\mathfrak{Z}$ in latitudie lxxj pticas, ptica xx pedū
Itun dicūt quod sunt ibi iiij carucate f̂re in đnico que $\hat{\text { t̂ra }}$ dr Llanvaddafe $q^{a}$ rū quel; carucaí $\hat{\text { tra }}$ extendit ${ }^{2} p$ anñ ad rj sot $z$ siij. d. $\mathrm{Sm}^{2}$ xxvj. s. ' t viij. đ.
Itm est ibi quoddam $p^{3}$ tum iuxta aquam de Aberclaraw

> Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.

Apr. F. $\tilde{q} d$ nō est in eođ cōmoto et ideo quamvis extendatur ad C. s̃. nō ponitur in $\mathrm{sm}^{2}$ subseq̃nti quia sunt quiđ Walens̃ qui dicūt se ћre ius in $\widehat{p} d c \tilde{o} p^{a}$ to.

Itm dicūt quod sunt infa dc̃m cōmỡ quatuor Westua $q^{2}$ q quelib; Westua continet in se quinq, Randirs 't extenditr p anũ
quilib; Rantir de redđ asiso de x. s. 't viij. đ. vidz ad iiij ?minos p eq ali porcoe ad queml 3 t̀minu

It̃m dicūt q̃d queļ Westua solebat pasče dũm cū familia sua $q^{\text {ater }}$ in anno $\mathfrak{t}$ Weysenteylu venatores cū [can]ibz đni falconarios cū auib; suis $p$ aduent ${ }^{9}$ suos $\bar{q} d$ quiđ ŝuiciū vocat ${ }^{r}$ West. 7 extenditr ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ illud West. in qual; Westua ad iiij $\mathrm{M}^{\mathrm{a}}$ cas


$$
\text { Sm }^{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{x} . \text { ti. xiij. s. } \mathfrak{t} \text { iiij. đ. }
$$

It̃m dicūt quod quan ŝnient de Keys debent pasci inf ${ }^{\text {a }}$ dc̃m cōmot $p$ anin 't extendit ${ }^{\text {a }}$ pot ${ }^{o r}$ a cuis lib; in die j. đ. $S^{\text {a }}$ vj. ti. ${ }^{\text {t }} \mathrm{xx}$. đ.
It̃m dicūt quod duo garcõn' 't duo equi đni debent sustentari inf ${ }^{\wedge}$ dẽm cōmõ̃ a festo õium sc̃og usq, festū ap̃loz Pti

$$
\operatorname{cui}^{2}{ }^{1}{ }_{3}
$$

' Jacob't extenditr sustentac̃o garc̃ cū equo in die ij. đ. $S^{a}$ lx. \%. 't iiij. đ.
It̃m dicūt quod vuus garc̃o 't vn² equas Raglou silz balti pat ${ }^{i}$ debet sustentari inf ${ }^{a}$ dc̃m cōmot $p$ iđ̉n tēpus $\mathfrak{t}$ extenditr ${ }^{\text {r }}$ illud suiciū in die ad ij. đ. ut supius
 auenā
It̃m dicūt ỹd litti Wallenš de eodem cōmoto dabūt ad pٌbenđ dext ${ }^{\text {atrij }}$ đni vid; quil; viā cribram atueñ $\mathfrak{t}$ extendit ${ }^{-1}$ quelz cribra aueñ ad j. đ. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ x. รั. ' ix. đ.
ltm dicūt yd fines ptita 't pquisita eiusdm cōmoti extendunt ${ }^{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{p}$ añ̃ ad ( C . s. Sma pats.
Itm dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ dietta releuia ' lerewita ibidm extenduntr p anĩ ad iiij lib $^{\mathrm{a}}$ s.

Suis patj.

Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.
Î̃m dicūt $\tilde{q}^{d}$ Pannã̃ de cōsuetudie extenditr$p$ anñ ad xx. ${ }^{\text {s. }}$ $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ pats.
 geñali sumoničoe de eundo secū de quolz domi morañ̃ sine licencia heret dñs vnū aûiū p̂cij v. ऊ.

It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ quando đus iret in expedicõe exta comit de Cerdigan q̃d heret de qaib; Westua iij. s. ' iiij . đ. Sm $^{2}$ xliij. Łi. xrj. s. Ł iij. đ.

Cōmot ${ }^{9}$ de Croudin.
Iurati dc̃i cōmoti sil; Ađ ap Howel Cadugan Toil Cadugan ap Griffit Meylor ap Lewelin Ioru²d ap Griffit đd ap Griffit Vouchan Res ap Lewelin Griffit ap Howel Howel Vauchan Griffit gouch Griffit Vauchan ap Madoc Iouan Vouchan dicūt $\ddagger$ s̃cr̃m suū $\mathfrak{q}$ d sunt ibi in đ̃nico riij carucate t̂re que t̂ra đr Dynasmaylur $q^{2} \xi$ quel; carucat tre extendit ${ }^{r} p$ anñ ad x . ${ }^{\text {s. }}$
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ iiij. łi.
It̃m dicūt $\tilde{q} d$ est vna carucã̃ $\mathfrak{q}$ re añ d Ruarthem $\mathfrak{z}$ extenditr $p$ anñ ad xij. š. $\mathrm{Sm}^{a}$ xij. ङั.
 Westua contin; in se $v$ Randirs 't extenditr quily Randir de х. ฮ̃. Z viij. đ.
redđ asiso p anñ, vid; ad iiij f̂minos p eqªli porcõe ad quèl; Pminū
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}} \times \mathrm{x} j$. f .
Itm dicūt üd quelib; Westua solebat pasče đñm cū familia sua $q^{3}$ ter in anĩ $\ddagger$ Wersenteylu renatores cū canib; đni falconarios cū auib; suis $p$ suos aduents y̆d quidem sैuiciū rocat ${ }^{r}$ Weect 't extenditr illud Weest in qual; Westua ad
 p equli porcõe Sm xvj. ti.
Itm dicūt ăd $\nabla j$ ŝuient de Keys debent pasci infa dễn

$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathbf{a}}$ ix. ¡. ij. s. Ł vj. đ. đni
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ iij garc̃ $\mathfrak{Z}$ iij equi , debent sustentar̃ infs

## Exchequer K. R. Extents, 1280-1306.

App. F. dẽm cōmot̃ a festo õium scoz̧ usq̧ festū ap̃loz Pki 't Jacobi 't extenditr ${ }^{r}$ sustentac̃o cui ${ }^{〔}$ ³ garc̃ cŭ equo in die ij . đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }}$ iiij. ti. x. s. ${ }^{\mathfrak{Z} \text { चj. đ. }}$
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ vnus garc̃ ' $t$ rnus equas Raglou siľ balti pat ${ }^{\text {i }}$ debēt sustentar̃ inf ${ }^{\text {a }}$ dc̃m cōmot̃ $p$ idm temp ${ }^{9} \mathrm{t}$ extendit ${ }^{r}$ illud ŝuiciū ad ij. đ. in die ut supius. $\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ xxx. š. 't ij. đ.

It̃m dicūt q̃d libi Walens̃ de eođ cōmoto debēt auenā ad p̂benđ dextarij đni vid弓 quiļ vnā cribrā aueñ 't extendit ${ }^{\text {ºn }}$ quelz cribra aueñ ad j. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\text {a }} \mathrm{xv}$. s. ${ }^{\mathfrak{Z}} \mathrm{vj}$. d.
fines
It̃m dicūt ${ }^{\text {qud }}$, ptita ${ }^{\text {'t }}$ pquis̃ eiusđ cōmoti extenduntr${ }^{r} p$ anñ ad vj. łi. xiij. s̆. ' iiij. đ.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ patj.
It̃m dicūt, ћietta releuia 't lerewita ibid extenduntr p anñ ad v. ti. 't x. s.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ pat3.
It̃m dicūt $\mathfrak{q} d$ Pannag̃ de cōsuetudie extenditr ${ }^{r} \mathbf{p}$ anñ $a d$ xl. š.
$\mathrm{Sm}^{\mathrm{a}}$ paty.
dĩs
Itrm dicūt $\tilde{q}$ d quociens ${ }_{\text {, }}^{\text {dins }}$ iret in expedicoe aliq ${ }^{\mathbf{a}}$ fc̃a genali sumonicõe de eundo secū de quolj domi morant̃ sine licencia Kebit dñs j aûiū $\mathfrak{p}$ cij v. s.

It̃m dicūt q̃d quando dñs iret in expedicõe ext ${ }^{a}$ comita

$S^{2}$ lxvj. ti. ' $\mathfrak{i i i j}$. s.

## INDEX.

Aberffiraw, Extents of so-called manor of, 1,7 ; royal residence of Princes of Wales, 2; description of, 5 ; free tenants of, 9 ; officials, 12 ; nativi of, 14; outlying hamlets of, 19 ; relative burden of services of tenants of, 22 ; princes' income from, 24; documents relating to, Appendix A
Aillt (tonsured person, a nontribesman, or stranger in blood), 54, 116; tonsured, 119, 129; fosterage of lord's son with, 127; admission to tribe in South Wales, 131 ; settled on registerland, see Tircyfrif; see also Non-tribesman
Alltud (non-tribesman, or stranger in blood), 54, 116 ; galanas of, 107 ; see Non-tribesman
Amobr, Amobragium (maidenfee payable on marriage or incontinence), 12
Anglesey, extents of, 1 and Appendix A; its three cantrefs, with princes' residence in each, 1; see Aberffraw
Anianus, Bishop of St. Asaph, 53, 152
Benedict, St., form of donations, with reservation of usufruct under his ' Rules,' 196, 227
'Best horse,' a unit of value, 182, 217
Beuno, St., monastery of Clynnoc, $142,172,178$
Boneddig, innate (tribesman of full blood of ninth descent), 54,

61, 92 (see Tribesman) ; galunas of, 107
'Book of St. Chad,' records in margins of, 181 et seq., 230
' Book of Deer,' records in margin of, 180
' Book of Llan Dav,' 176, 183; early records of donations in, 199 et seq.
Brenhin (privileged chieftain or prince) of North Wales, his manor of Aberffraw, 5 et seq.; his tenants and their dues and services, 22-27; head chieftain of Cymru, 135, 139 (see Chieftainship); his hall, \&c., when on progress, constructed by aillts, de., 155 ; progress of his household, 157
Breyr (privileged person, $=$ uchelwr), 54, 90, 94, 127; see Uchelur
Cadoc, St., monastery of, 187, 203; legendary life of, 187 ; donstions to, "205 et seq., 230, 233
Caergybi, monastery of, in Angle. sey, 232
Caeth (=bondman or slave), galanas of, 107, 109
Cantref, a geographical district generally embracing two cymwds, 1; a chieftain's residence in each, 1

- containing trefs or villa both of tribesmen or free tenants. and non-tribesmen or nativi. 21
- in honour of Denbigh, 30

Carnarvon, Record of, 4 et seq.

Car-shattered $=$ kin-shattered, i.e. with broken kinship, 58, 61, 118; see Kinship
Cenedl $=$ kindred ; pencenedl $=$ chief of kindred, 61; see Kindred
Census, see Food-rents
Chad, St., see Book of
Chieftainship in the tribes, chap. vi., 134 et seq.; gradations in, 134 ; family character of, 140 ; choice of ruling family, 144 ; of Cunedda and his sons, 140-144; of ruling family of Powys, 145. Household of chieftain, 146; his descendants edlings, 146, till they settle on land and become ushelwrs and merge in the tribe, 147; in relation to land, 149 et seq. His family join in his donations, 150-153. Two kinds of donations of land and of tribute from land, 154 ; chieftain's food-rents from free tribesmen, 154 et seq. (and see Gwestva), and from nontribesmen, 164-166; early evidence of family character of, 231
Church, immunities of, 173 et seq.; nature of early donations to, 178 et seq.; contact with tribal chieftains, 187 et seq.; Continental donations to, 192 et seq.; monastic character of, 204
Clynnoc, St. Beuno's monastery at, 172, 178
Codes (Ancient Laws of Wales), character of, 51-54, 236, 237
Commendation, 226
Coulanges, M. Fustel de, 227
Cows used as money or unit of value, $76,107,182$; in Cadoc records, 216, 217, 225
Cumbria = land of the Cymri, originally in the north, 140 ; whence Cunedda and his sons migrated into Wales, 141
Cunedda and his sons, 2; their tribal migration into Wales, 140-142; his chieftainship a family one, 143; divided among his sons, 143, 144; treated the conquered people
as non-tribesmen or strangers in blood, 148
Cymraes, female of Cymro, 68; intermarriage of non-tribesmen with, 55
Cymro, or innate boneddig, or tribesman of full tribal blood of ninth descent (see Tribesman), privileges of, 61,68
Cymru, the country of the Cymry, 140, 141
Cymwd (division of Cantref), in Anglesey, 1, 4 ; in honour of Denbigh, 30; of Maelor Saesneg, 151
Cyvarwys, the bundle of rights received by kinsman on attaining fourteen, 66 et seq.; was the provision for tribesman's maintenance, 67, 71, 99, 132; claimed by 'kin and descent,' 94
Dadenhudd (re-uncovering of paternal hearth), mode of recovery of inheritance, 82,94
Dawnbwyds, or food-gifts of nontribesmen, 164-166
Denbigh, Extent of castle and honour of, 28 et seq., 110, and see Appendix B
Dubricius, his disciples, 199 ; donations to, in 'Book of Llan Dav,' 199-205
Ebediv (death fee), 12
Edling = designated successor of chieftain, 146; all chieftains' sons and descendants in one sense edlings till settled on land, 146
Enfranchisement of a wele of non-tribesmen, 126 and Appendix E ; in 'Book of St. Chad,' 184
Episcopacy, not at first territorial, 204
Erw (strip of land of a day's ploughing), five free erws part of cyvarwys of tribesman on attaining fourteen, 67, 68
Escheats, of fractions of rights, not of land, 35, 40, 43, 110
Extents, of Anglesey, 1 (for Latin text see Appendix A) ; of Aberffraw, 7; of Denbigh, 28 and Appendix B; Record of Carnarvon, $3-20,29$; of lands
of St. Darid's, 48 and Appendix C
Finian, St., disciple of St. Darid, St. Gildas, and St. Cadoc, and introducer into Ireland of ' second order of Saints,' 205 ; witness to Record, 208, 210
Firma unius noctis, 155, 206, 207, 229
Food-rents, in 'Book of St. Chad,' 185; in the Cadoc Records, 207-224, 227, 230, 235; under Alamannic Laws, 197; see Giwestva
Fosterage, used as a link between tribesmen and nontribesmen, 127 ; importance of, in tribal system, 128
Galanas (or blood-fine for homicide), not between kinsmen. 58, 209 ; how responsibility divided and enforced, 101 et seq.; amount of, marking grades of aristocracy in the kindred, 105 ; of various persons, 107
Gavell (division of a wele), 31, 33
Germanus, St., tonsure of Vortigern's son, 70 ; prophecy of, as to chieftains of Powys, 145
Gildas, evidence of, 186 et seq. , 224,226 ; diatribe against Maelgwn, 188, 190, 191; date of his writings and death, 189
Giraldus Cambrensis, 22, 29, 46, 85, 128, 157
Golden rod used for money, 173 ; gold-hilted sword used for money, see Sword
Gospels, records in margin of, 180, 181, 233
Gwely, see Wele
Gwestva $=$ food-rents to chieftain from free tribesmen, 154 et seq.; commuted into tunc pound, payable by each maenol in North Wales and tref in South Wales, 159 ; connection with firma unius noctis, 155 , 207 ; in what it consisted, 160162 ; the vat of mead, bragot, or beer, 162 ; early food-rents in sixth century, records of donations, 197, 207 et seq.; importance of early evidence of, 229

Howell the Good, 52 ; his collec tion of laws, 236
Illtud, St., monastery of, 187, curses chieftain for homicide, 208 ; donation to, $i b$. ; members of his monastery as witnesses, 211, 220
Inheritance of tribal rights by kin and descent, 'per ach ac etryt,' 49,92 ; of father's privilege and holding by dadenhudd, 82, 92
Kemmeys, manor of, 4
Kilgh ( = progress) :
K. Raglot, service on progress of this officer, 17
$K$. hebbogothion, service on hawking expeditions, 12
Kilhwch and Olwen, in story of, cyvarwys asked from Arthur, in ' Mabinogion,' 69
Kindred (cenedl), its organisation, 61 ; group of, to fourth degree of descent the unit for landholding, 73 ; the grade to the fourth degree the limit of saraad and other liabilities, 76. Kindred to seventh and ninth degrees, 78 et seq.; responsible for homicide, 79, 101 et seq.; reason of grades of kindred, 81 ; connection with the hearth, 83. Kindred in non-tribesmen not recognised till residence to fourth descent, 115-123; galanas, a matter between kindreds, 104 ; no galanas between kinsmen, 104,105 ; grades of aristocracy within the kindred, 105

- chief of (pencenedl), 61; every kinsman ' man and kin' to him, 63; reception into kindred of kinsman by him, 64 ; assisted by seven Elders, \&c., 72 ; his duties, 72 ; galanas of, 107
Kinship, artificial in certain cases, 57 ; broken or shattered, 58; final loss of, in ninth generation, 59 ; 'outcry over the abvss,' ib. ; how broken, 59
Land-maer (chieftain's officer regulating maerdref) of Aberffraw, 14
Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, wele
of, 31 ; weles of Canon and Pythle ap L., 37 ; escheats in this wele, 110
Lectum, see Wele
Leges Alamannorum, form of donations under, 194; census or food-rent, 197
- Bauivariorum, form of donation under, 195
Llandaff, immunities of, 176; episcopacy of, 204
- Book of (Liber Landavensis), 176; see Book of
Llewelyn, Prince, 2, 151
Maelgwn, descendant of Cunedda, conqueror of South Wales, chosen head-chieftain of the Cymry, 144 ; makes donation to St. Brynach, 175; died of Yellow Death, 187; Gildas's diatribe against him, 188, 190
Maelor Saesneg, Cymwd of, the subject of a grant, 151
Maerdref (home farm under chieftain's land-maer, 7; of Aberffraw, 14; tenants on, hold in trefgevery, 18
Maintenance of tribesman (see Cyvarwys) by his father till fourteen, 64 ; by his lord or the kindred afterwards, 64 ; right claimed by 'kin and descent,' 92; under Roman patria potestas, 96
Nativi, or villani (Norman translation of non-tribesmen), of Aberffraw, 14; mostly holding 'register land' in trefgevery, 19; see Non-tribesmen and Services
Non-tribesman, or stranger in blood (called in Extents nativus), includes taeog, aillt, alltud, 54; without tribal blood, 55, 115 ; in North Wales for ever, in South Wales till ninth generation or fourth by intermarriage, 55 ; disabilities of, 56 ; each to be under a lord, 116; varions classes of, 117 et seq.; normal tenure of, in a taeog. tref or in trefgevery, 18, 116 et seq.; without recognised kindred till fourth descent, then adscriptus gleba, 120 ; weles of,
in Extents, 125; example of emancipation, 126; reception into tribe in South Wales on ninth descent or fourth with intermarriage with Cymraeses, 131; chieftain's dues and services from, 164-166; buildings required from them for chieftain when on progress, 155 ; survival of services in the Denbigh Extent, 169; and in the Extents of Aberffraw, 14; see Nativi
Pastus, used in the Denbigh Extent for dues from tribesmen and non-tribesmen in sup. port of the chieftain and his officers when on progress, keeping of horses, dogs, \&c., and fosterage of youths, 169
Patria = cymwd, 49, 152, 153
Penros, manor of, 2 ; petition of tenants of, $i d$.
Potura, word used in the Extents of Anglesey, in much the same sense as the Pastus of the Denbigh Extent, 21; see Pastus
Precaria, under Roman and Merovingian law, 196, 227
Priodorion (Latin, Priodarii, free tribesmen with proprietary rights and holding in weles and gavells), 31, 45, 59
Rand' Vaghan ap Asser, wele of, 41
Relief, payable by free tenants at Aberfiraw, 11, 12
Rosfair, manor of, 4
St. David's, Extent of lands of, 48 Saraad, insult or wounding, and so payment for it, 76; kindred to fourth degree liable for it, 77 Services, relative burden of, 22
- of tribesmen of free tenants, at Aberffraw, 9 et seq.; in general, 157; see Food-rents and Gwestva and Tribesman
- of non-tribesmen or nativi, at Aberffraw, 14 ; in general, 155, 164, 169 ; see Non-tribesman
Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' 130, 137; his ' Four Ancient Books of Wales,' 140
Statute of Rothelan, 52
Strangers in blood, see Non-tribesman

Index.

Sword, used for money, 210 ; with gilded hilt, used for money, 216; gilded sword called ' Hipiclaur,' 222
Taeog (non-tribesman or nativus), 54; see Aillt
Taeog-tref (hamlet of non-tribesmen on register-land), see Tircyfrif
Teilo, St., Bishop of Llandaff, 176, 182, 184, 191; three settlements of, in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, 204
Tigern, sometimes used for chieftain, 137; mac tigerns ( $=$ chieftain's younger sons?), underchieftains, 138
Tircyfrif (register-land on which aillts and taeogs are settled with joint responsibility under landmaer of chieftain), 18-21, 116 et seq., 126, and Appendix E
Tir gwelyawe, land held in weles or gwelys, 74,91 ; division of, among sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons per capita, 73, 74 , and see p. 45
Tiriawg, or landed person, head of a wele or gwely, 89 ; uchelwrs or breyrs such, 90
Toisech, one of words used for chieftain, 136
Tonsure of kinsman, 69, 70; as mark of service, 119, 129 ; in Scotland or ancient Cumbria, 130
Tref $y$ tat $=$ inheritance, 92, 173
Trefgevery. (tenure on tircyfrif, or 'register-land'), 18; see Tircyfrif
Tribesman, at Aberffraw, 10 ; distinction from non-tribesman one of blood, 54 ; uchelwr, or breyr and innate boneddig, ib.; his right to maintenance or cyvarwys, 64, 92; by ' kin and descent,' 92 ; loss of tribal rights, 58 ; not joint tenant
with uchelwr, head of his wele, 91,108 ; unless an uchelwr only a foot soldier, 95 ; his 'peculium' or private property, 95 et seq.; and see Services and Gvestva
Tyddyn (homestead), description of, 46, 91
Uchelwr, or breyr, a privileged tribesman, head of a wele, a landed person, 54, 90, 93, 127; in South Wales a judge, 90 ; his descendants not joint tenants with him, 91; his military dignity that of knight or horsesoldier (marchog), 93 ; galanas of, 107
Villani, see Nativi
Villata (Norman name of district occupied by one or more weles), 46, 47
Wele, or gwely (Latin, lectum: family group under common ancestor, embracing kindred to great-grandchildren; unit of land-holding), 9, 28-50, 101; of Lauwarghe ap Kendalyk, 31, Appendix B e; of Canon and Pythle ap Lauwarghe, 37, Appendix B a-c; of Rand' Vaghan ap Asser, 41, Appendix B d; shifting of, from one villata to another, 48 ; limited to greatgrandsons, 45 ; in South Wales, in Extent of St. David's, 48, Appendix C; in Gower, 50 ; holding tir gwelyawe, 73-75; members of, not joint tenants, 91 ; patriarchal character of, 95; escheats of, 110 ; weles of nontribesmen, when recognised, 125 ; enfranchisement of, 126, AppendixE; record of, in 'Book of St. Chad,' 184
Wyckewere, now Wygfair, villata of, 31,43 , Appendix B e
Yellow Death (A.D. 547), 175, 183, 187, 188, 204




[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ In her 'Jerusalem.'

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ven. Code II. xxviii. 4-9, and II. i. 34.

[^2]:    ' See Tribal C'ustom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 292-296, on the Lex Scania Antiqua.

[^3]:    'The father surviving, the dead filius familias has no successor, as if he had never been born.'

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 150-162.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, pp. 292-296.

[^6]:    Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, p. 284.

[^7]:    'A father's share of the galanas of his son-one penny'!

[^8]:    ' the son of that surety who is dead to stand legally for the father . . . and if he have no son, the lord is to act as a son to him.'

    And the same rule was to apply to the debtor. His son, or, if there was no son, the lord, must pay the

[^9]:    'As a son is heir to patrimony (dref $y$ dat), so a father is heir to the son's $d a(d a y m a b)$ unless he have an heir.'

    This was logical enough, and shows how one step in the disintegration of original custom led to another,

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law, p. 158.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ This copy is now in my possession (1904).

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Appendix A.

    - The cantref of Aberffiraw in.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rolls Parl. 8 Ed. III. i. 308, and small parchment schedule sewn on to the Roll of the Survey of 1294, and see Appendix A c.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarvon, pp. $\mid{ }^{2}$ Id. p. 83. 63,64 , and p. ${ }^{7} 7$.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chapter House, County Bags, Rentals and Surveys, Roll, 768. Wallia, Box 143 B, No. 34. Extent of Anglesey, 22 Ed.I. (13 Mch. Another copy, Rentals and Surveys, Roll, 769. And see App. A a. 1294), Public Record Office, now

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ The boundaries are given at Ancient Surveys, vol. 17 (24), the end of the Survey of 1608 , f. 62. Land Revenue, Record Office,

[^17]:    Trefcastell is described in that time occupied one of the the Extent of 1351 as part of the terra dominica. Its tenants at

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pronounced ' welly' as 'gwely.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarion, p. 48.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ The ebediw and amobr of the principal officers of the palace were 208 ., of the subordi. nate officers 108 ., of inferior per-

[^21]:    sons 5s.-Ancient Laws of Wales, W.L. XIV. x. 17.
    ${ }^{2}$ Venedotian Code, I. xi. 9.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ Venedotian Code, I. xx. 7, I. xxvi.

    ## ${ }^{2}$ Id. I. xxvi.

    ${ }^{3}$ Id. I. xl. and I. vii, 11. There
    were Smiths on other manors, as well as other officers. Thus on the manor of Penros in Anglesey

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarvon, p. 49.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ Venedotian Code, I. xxxvi.
    11. Trefcastell was described in the Record of Carnarton as in the hands of tenants who paid 60 s. of rent, and the same rent was
    named by the Crown on the sale to the City of London in 1628.
    ${ }^{2}$ Id. II. xx. 9. The word translated 'King' is brenhin, meaning the Prince or head chieftain.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarvon, p. 49.
    ${ }^{2}$ Id.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ II. xviii.
    ${ }^{2}$ See W.L. IX. xxxii., where a tref of such regulated land is

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarvon, p. 49.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ A somewhat similar custom of letting out cattle to tenants for the summer, reserving as rent a share in the milk, is still known in some parts of Wales, under the very similar name of maerwriaeth, or cadw havod. See

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ Descr. Kamb. C. I. vi.
    ${ }^{2}$ C. I. viii. and xvii., and see Train's Isle of Man, ii. p. 24.
    ${ }^{3}$ Treasury of Receipt, Miscell. $\frac{68}{4}$, Public Record Office. Now Lay Subsidy ${ }^{242}$. See Appen.

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cattle.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ I have to thank Mr. Russell Sowray, late of the 'Woods and Forests,' for this information. The

[^32]:    1 'Extenta Castri et Honoris de Dynbeigh facta per Hugonem de Beckele et per recognitionem tenencium singularum villatarum anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum octavo.' Harleian MSS. 3632, B.M. A still older copy, if not the original, formerly belonging to Colonel

    Howard, of Wygfair, is now in my possession, as well as a careful transcription, for which I have to thank the patient labour of Mr. W. K. Boyd. There is an imperfect copy at the Land Revenue Record Office, No. 6 Whitehall.
    ${ }^{2}$ Literally 'above ' and 'below.'

[^33]:    

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ The passages from the Extent referred to in this chapter will be found in Appendix B. See Table of Contents of Appendix.

[^35]:    ' Be it known that there is a certain progenies of free tenants in this crmwd (of Ughalet), which is called the "progenies of Rand' Vaghan ap Asser." which said progenies hold in diverse

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarvon, p. 112 and pp. 109-110. The Villa of Llanreadur was held by 4 groups of tenants, which each held 4 bovates, i.e. half the full
    plough team. And Llech by 4 groups, each with 8 bovates or full plough teams. Llandulas was held by 3 groups, each with 12 bovates.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Appendix B. h and i .

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ Descr. Wall. I. ch. x. and ch. xvii. The peasants of the villages on the south coast of the Isle of Achill, even to the present day, have

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ British Museum Additional MSS. No. 34135 :-' Extenta omnium terrarum et reddituum domini episcopi Menevensis facta per magistrum David Fraunceys Cancellarium Menevensem tempore

[^40]:    Martyn, Dei gracia episcopi loci. Anno Domini Millesimo CCC $^{\text {mo }}$ vicesimo sexto.' See Appendix C. [Since printed in the Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 5, edited by J. W. Willis-Bund.]

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fol. 41 (p. 237).
    ${ }^{2}$ Fol. 36d (p. 215).
    ${ }^{3}$ Fol. 37 (p. 215).
    ${ }^{4}$ Llandewybrevi. Fol. 33, 34

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cott. Titus, D. ii.

[^43]:    W.L. XIII. ii. 66.

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xi. 24.
    ${ }^{2}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 222.
    ${ }^{4}$ V.C. I. xliii. 11.
    ${ }^{3}$ Id. 79.
    ${ }^{5}$ D.C. II. viii. 7.
    ${ }^{6}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 67.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. X. ii.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ The car-shattered person has been hitherto considered as a waggon-shattered person; but as to the word car compare kerennyd $=$ relationship (Venedotian Code, III. i. 11 and III.i. 16), Fer and car $=$ relative (Gwentian Code, II. xxxvii. 2, and xxxix. 11 and 14), karant = relations (id.). And (W.L. XIV. xvii.) under the head Am Geraint $=$ of relations, are the three following paragraphs, which clearly prove that the car of the car-shattered person was his kin. ship, and not his waggon:-
    ' There are three kinds of relatives (car) on the side of the

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ II. xiv. 2, and see W.L. ix. 26.
    ${ }^{2}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 67.
    s W.L. XIII. i. 26, and cf. Ancient Lan's of Ireland. iii. c. vii.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Bon = stem, stock ; bonedd
    $=$ stock, pedigree ; boneddig $=$ having a stock or pedigree.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. xvi.
    ${ }^{3}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 64.
    ${ }^{4}$ Id.

[^49]:    : V.C. II. xix. and D.C', II. xxiii. 34.

    2 D.O. II. xxiii. 55.
    ${ }^{3}$ G.C. II. xxxix. 38.

[^50]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 88. ${ }^{2}$ Id. XIII. ii. 165, and see W.L. XIII. ii. 67.

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xxx., and see also ${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. xxxi. 25. G.C. II. xxxix. 40-41.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xxviii., and see the same point as to villani in the Latin version of the laws, L.W. II. xl. 15.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. sxviii., and W.L. X. xvii. 31.
    ${ }^{3}$ V.C. II. i. 34.

    + W.L. VIII. xi. 34.

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C.I. vii. 11, and D.C.I.x. 2.
    ${ }^{3}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 83.
    ${ }^{2}$ D.C.I. xxv. and G.C. I. xxxvii.
    4 W.L. XIII. ii. 193.

[^54]:    ${ }^{1}$ Guest's Mabinogion, p. 219 et seq. Red Book of Hergest (1887), i. p. 105 et req. See men-

[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ Nennius, Hist. Britan.

[^56]:    There are three domestic arts, being primary branches-husbandry or cultivation of land (aru tir), dairy farming (maeronaeth) and weaving, and the chiefs of kindreds (pencenedloedd) are to enforce instruction in them. . . . ${ }^{1}$

[^57]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ancient Law's of Wales, bychainjon the chief's dependents W.L. XIII. ii. 75. As to the quarsee App. B.e. p. 86. tering of these youths (gweision

[^58]:    And after the brothers are dead, the first cousins are to eyualise if they will it: and thus they are to do: the heir of the youngest
    brother is to equalise, and the heir of the eldest brother is to if they will it: and thus they are to do: the heir of the youngest
    brother is to equalise, and the heir of the eldest brother is to choose, and so by seniority unto the youngest : and that distribution is to continue between them during their lives.

[^59]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xii. Tir gwelyaze ${ }^{2}$ D.C. II. xxiii. 1-3 and 19. $=$ land of weles or givelys.

[^60]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. III. i. and G.C. II. viii.
    $\because$ So in the tale, 'Kilhwch and Olwen,' Red Book of Hergest (1887 ed.), i. p. 119 ; Guest, p. 234. When Yspaddaden Penkawr is asked to give his daughter in marriage, he answered, 'Her four

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. i. 59.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. xxxi. 10, and see II. i. 61, and D.C. II. xxiii. 36,
    and W.L. IV. i. 32, and X. vii. 8.

[^62]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. III. i. 16.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. III. i. 13.
    ${ }_{2}^{2}$ In the case of the son of the

[^64]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. III. i. 17. ${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. xiii. 4. ${ }^{3}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 132.

[^65]:    W.L. XIII. ii. 99. ${ }^{2}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 227. ${ }^{3}$ V.C. II. i. 31.

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. VTI. i. 26. 'A person is not to claim dadenhudd, except by the hearth he himself shall uncover, or his father before him. A person is not to claim land by

[^67]:    father or his great-grandfather shall have been on the land, if he do not mind to claim [as in that case he should? by kin and descent.

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xiv. 2.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ Giraldus Cambrensis mentions that the Welsh knew the names of their ancestors to the sixth or seventh degree, and sometimes further. Mr. A. N. Palmer has referred me to the fact that as late as the time of Norden's survey (A.D. 1620) of Abenbury, a

[^70]:    both related to land.

[^71]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 248.
    ${ }^{2}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 218.

[^72]:    ${ }^{1}$ D.C. II. viii. 66.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. II. xxviii. 3-5.

[^73]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. XIII. ii. 220.
    2 V.C. II. xxviii. 9.

[^74]:    ${ }^{1}$ Descriptio Kambria,I.cviii.
    2'A dadenhudd is not to be dotian Code, II. xiii. 2.

[^75]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ancient Laws, p. 145.
    ${ }_{2}$ That is, return to her the agweddi paid by her father to her

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gwentian Code, II. xxix. ${ }^{2}$ Venedotian Code, II. i. 1-6.

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ Venedotian Code, II. i.

[^78]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the Venedotian Code 'lordship,' arglvydiaeth.

[^79]:    ${ }^{2}$ Gwentian Code, II. viii. 11.
    ${ }^{3}$ Venedotian Code, III. i. 23.

[^80]:    'Venedotian Code, III. i. 14.

[^81]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gwentian Code, II. xxxix. 54.

[^82]:    ${ }^{1}$ Venedotian Code, I. ii.
    ${ }^{3}$ V.C. I.v. ${ }^{4}$ V.C.I. vii.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. iii.
    $\therefore$ V.C. I. x. \&c.

[^83]:    1 V.C. III. i.
    V.C. II. i. 16.
    ${ }^{3}$ V.C. II. i. 64.

[^84]:    ${ }^{1}$ D.C. I. v. 8. See also Venedotian Code, II. i. 32, where, in reference to the agwedd $i$, the three
    classes are the brenhin, the gwrda, and the aillt.

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gwentian Code, II. xxxv. 5.

[^86]:    ${ }^{1}$ Generally the aillt of the Venedotian Code seems to correspond with the taeog of the others, but not in every case. 'Allud.' simply means 'stranger.'

[^87]:    ${ }^{1}$ Aillt means in old Welsh shaven or tonsured, the verb being in modern Welsh eillio (to shave), Irish altan (a razor). In Manx inney-veayl is a word for bond-woman (as in the case of

[^88]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. V. ii. 126 (middle 14th century).

[^89]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. V. ii. 95.
    ${ }^{2} I d$. ii. 125.

[^90]:    ${ }^{2}$ Ibid.

[^91]:    ' If there be an alltud of a kindred he is entitled to a raith as upon a Cimro. An alltud of a kindred is an alltud whose parents

[^92]:    ${ }^{1}$ D.C. II. तvii. 46.
    ${ }^{2}$ Record of Carnarron, p. 2. Bodscathlan. 'Eadem villa est de
    natura de Troweloge, et sunt in eadem villa duo Wele nativa, \&c.'

[^93]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the Latin of this docu- $\mid$ of Colonel Howard, of Wygfair, ment, which is in the possession see Appendix E.

[^94]:    - There are different kinds of nativi or bond-men.
    - For some are nativi, de avo et proavo, which is vulgarly

[^95]:    ${ }^{1}$ Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i. p. 655 (red paging), 291 (black do.).

[^96]:    ${ }^{1}$ Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 221, 222. Upon the question of tonsure see Du Cange, sub voce 'Capilli.'

[^97]:    ${ }^{1}$ Welsh Laws, XIII. ii. 67.
    ${ }^{2}$ I.e. the aillt who first marries a Cymraes.

[^98]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. X. xiii. 1.

[^99]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. I. ii.
    ${ }^{2}$ Skene's Celtic Scotland. iii.
    p. 156. The word Toisech occurs also in the entries in the margin of the 'Bock of Deer,' and means

[^100]:    Windisch 'Wörterbuch,' sub voce Tussech.
    ${ }^{3}$ D.C. preface.

    + W.L. XIII. ii. 64.
    ${ }^{5}$ Pugh.

[^101]:    1 W.L. XIV. iv.
    ${ }^{2}$ W.L. V. ii. 1.
    ${ }^{3} I d$.

[^102]:    ${ }^{1}$ If Cymric, the prefix should be map. But the word tigern (teyrn) seems to be Goidelic as well as Cymric. See Gwentian Code, I. r. 9, macuyeit $=$ youths ; Dimetian Code, I. iv. 1, maccuyeit = youths; Venedotian Code I. v. 4, macku.
    yuyet $=$ youths. And cf. Vortigern $=$ Gwr-theyrn, which was both Goidelic and Cymric, and means probably the supreme lord $=$ Gor-tigern.
    ${ }^{3}$ W.L. XIV. iv. 5.

[^103]:    ${ }^{1}$ Four Ancient Books of Galloway. Skene's Celtic ScotWales, chap. iv.
    land, vol. i. p. 238.

[^104]:    ${ }^{1}$ Venedotian Code, II. ii,

[^105]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Professor Rhys's Celtic Britain, p. 135 .
    ${ }^{2}$ Nennius places the inrasion of Cunedda 146 years before Mailcun (Maelgwn) reigned.

[^106]:    ${ }^{3}$ Lives of Cambro-British Saints (Rees), pp. 100 and 400. The MS. from which it was transcribed is early 12 th century.

[^107]:    ${ }^{1}$ Id. pp. 22 and 310.
    ${ }^{2}$ Id. p. 146.
    ${ }^{4}$ See Professor Rhys's Celtic
    ${ }^{3}$ W.L. V.ii. 1.

[^108]:    ${ }^{1}$ Professor Rhys's Celtic or not does not much affect the Britain, p. 128.
    ${ }^{2}$ Whether Zimmer is right in Nennius Vindicatus, p. 72 et giving a late origin to this legend
    force of it in this connection. seq.

[^109]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. I. vii. 1.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. I. v. 5.
    ${ }^{3}$ Id. See also D.C. I. v. 8.

[^110]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. X. xiii.

[^111]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Dugdale's account of Strata Florida, Monasticon, $\mathbf{V}$. p. 632.
    ${ }^{2}$ This inquisition and the charter cited in this case will be
    found in Appendix D. I am in. debted for this instance to the Hon. Mrs. Bulkeley Owen, of Tedsmore Hall, Oswestry.

[^112]:    ${ }^{1}$ With regard to Erbistock see Palmer in the Archaological the interesting paper of Mr. A. N. Review, March 1888.

[^113]:    ${ }^{1}$ Giraldus Cambrensis, Descr. $\mid \quad{ }^{2}$ Venedotian Code, III. xxi. 6. Camb. I. c. x.

[^114]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. I. vi. 1, and D.C. I. v. 2.
    ${ }^{2}$ Boldon Book, p. 575.

[^115]:    ${ }^{3}$ Venedotian Code, I. xliii. 16, and see Dimetian Code, II. xi. 7.

[^116]:    ${ }^{1}$ I. xliii. 15.
    ${ }^{2}$ Desc. Camb. ch. viii.
    ${ }^{3}$ II. xix. 6.
    ${ }^{4}$ Venedotian Code, I. vii. 22.

[^117]:    ${ }^{1}$ W.L. X. viii.
    ${ }^{2}$ Translated in the Latin ver.
    sion 'novem noctes hospitis,' Leges Wallice, II. xlvi. 8.
    ${ }^{3}$ D.C. II. xix. 6.

[^118]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C.I. ix. 25. ${ }^{2}$ V.C.II. xvii. ${ }^{3}$ D.C.II. xix. and xx.

[^119]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dimetian Code, II. xix.; | ${ }^{2}$ D.C. II. xix. 3. Gwentian Code, II. xxxiv.

[^120]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. with the Greek $\chi$ óp $\mu a$, and Irish cuirm, and Pliny's mention of the Spanish word cerea. And see Hehn's Kulturpflanzen, \&c.

[^121]:    (Berlin, 1877), p. 132.
    ${ }^{2}$ Gragas, vol. i. p. 501; Kaupa-balkr, tit. lxxxv.
    ${ }^{3}$ Leg. Wall. II. xiii. 2.

[^122]:    ${ }^{1}$ Leg. Wall. I. xviii. 6.
    ${ }^{2}$ V.C. I. ix. 25.

[^123]:    ${ }^{1}$ V.C. II. xvii. 12.
    ${ }^{2}$ The description in the Denbigh Extent of the manor and

[^124]:    ${ }^{1}$ G.C. II. xxxiv.
    ${ }^{2}$ D.C. II. xix.

[^125]:    ${ }^{1}$ The authorities differ as to the number of cantrefs in North Wales, 10,12 , and 15 being
    mentioned. See under 'Cantrev' in the glossary to Ancient Laws of Wales.

[^126]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pastus penmackew et ways. syon bagheyn $=$ mackuyeit and gweisson bychen-i.e. fosterage

[^127]:    ${ }^{1}$ Record of Carnarvon, p. $\mid$ unit of value.
    257.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is clear that the golden rod was used as money, and equated with the cow, the usual
    ${ }^{3}$ Cynan, son of Brochwel, invaded Glamorgan after Cadoc's death.-Lives of Camb. Saints, p. 375.

[^128]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lives of Cambrian Saints, ${ }^{2}$ Record of Carnarvon, p. 46. p. 16 and p. 304.

[^129]:    ${ }^{3}$ ' In nomine Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi te [St. Brrnach] et locum tuum totumque territorium ad locum tuum pertinens; necnon omnes in eo commanentes, ab omni regia exactione in perpetuum libero; insuper terram Thelych monachi ditioni tue liberam assigno: qui ergo contra hanc donationem meam de cetero venire presumserit Deimaledictionem omniumque fidelium Christi et meam celeriter incurrat.'

[^130]:    ${ }^{1}$ Camb. Saints, pp. 15 and Vesp. xiv. fol. 77, B.M.
    ${ }^{3} \mathrm{Ib} . \mathrm{p} .12$, from same MS. fol. 80.

[^131]:    1 'No one who has any knowledge of Old Welsh will for a mo-

[^132]:    ' No land is to be without a brenhin (diurenhinn). If it be abbey land he [the brenhin] is to have (if they be laics) dirwy and camlwrw and amobyr and ebediw and hosts (lluyd) and theft (lledrat). If it be bishop's land he is to have hosts and theft. If it be hospital land he is to have theft and fighting (ymlad), and therefore there is no land without him. ' ${ }^{\text {- }}$

    Writen the Welsh of Teilo's p. xxii and p. 120.
    "Privilegium" or of the boundaries.' Book of Llan Dav (preface),

    1 Wasserschleben, p. 79.
    2 Venedotian Code, II. xii. 8.

[^133]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book of Deer, Mr. Stuart's preface, p. xxv.

[^134]:    ${ }^{1}$ Collected Papers, p. 459.

[^135]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book of Llan Dav, p. 144.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ib. p. 239.
    ${ }^{3}$ P. 240.

    - P. 240.

[^136]:    ${ }^{1}$ Mr. Bradshaw's Collected Papers, p. 460. Nobis is described by Asser, in his Life of Alfred, as his propinquus.
    ${ }^{2}$ Four cows $=$ one pound of

    > silver, and the worth of a bondman was one pound in the Codes. The final letters, 'as,' are the only letters remaining, the margin of the record being injured.

[^137]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Zimmer's Nennius V'indi. catus, p. 101, quoting from the Ulster -Annals. A.D. 545-5 48 for the appearance of the 'mortalitas
    magna 'in Ireland. The Annales Cambrice give the date A.D. 547.

    Cotton MS., Vesp. A. xiv. Brit. Mus.

[^138]:    

[^139]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hist. Gilde, c. xxvi.
    2 "Debitum multo tempore antea exactum.'
    ${ }^{3}$ It is quite true that Bede read the passage referring to the battle on Mons Badonis as stating that it occurred in the

[^140]:    ${ }^{1}$ ' Visi defensor ecclesiæ ipsius beneficium prestare voluerit ei.' Title 1, c. 1, Pertz, Legum iii. p. 270.

[^141]:    ${ }^{2}$ Pertz, Legum iii. p. 45 ; and Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges Alaman. norum, p. 66. E, Cod. B.

[^142]:    ${ }^{1}$ Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen (Wartmann), Theil i., Nos. $3,10,17,18$, \&c.
    ${ }^{2}$ Dig. Just. vii. 1; and Codex, viii. 53, De Donationibus; and

[^143]:    ${ }_{1}$ Tit. xxiii.
    2 The tremissis $=32$ wheat grains weight of gold.
    ${ }^{3}$ Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen, Nos. 17, 18, 24, 33, \&c.

[^144]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book of Llan Dav, p. 80.
    ${ }^{2}$ P. 81.

[^145]:    ${ }^{1}$ Id. p. 72.

[^146]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book of Llan Dav, p. 75.
    P. 75.

[^147]:    ${ }^{1}$ P. 77. Zur Rechtsgeschichte der

    * Leges Alamannorum, ii. 2. Römischen et Germanischen Cf. 'qui manus suas in cartam Urkunde, p. 230.

[^148]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book of Llan Dav, p. 76.

[^149]:    ${ }^{1}$ Historia Brittonum, s. 14, and see Zimmer's Nennius Vindicatus, p. 84-91.

[^150]:    ${ }^{1}$ Skene's Celtic Scotland, ii. c. ii.
    ${ }_{2}^{2}$ The Latin of these records has been copied from the Cotton

    MS., Vesp. A. siv., B.M., and I have to thank Mr. W. K. Boyd for the care bestowed upon them.
    ${ }^{3}$ Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new.

[^151]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fol. 38d. old ref., 39d. new.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cart. de St. Bertin, pp. 28, 29 (A.D. 677 ).

[^152]:    ' 'Hibernensis sinodus dicit: monasterii peniteant.' Die Omnes homicidæ si toto corde conversi fuerint, VII annorum penitentiam districte sub regula Irische Kanonensammlung. Was. serschleben, p. 96. Lib. xxriii. c. 10 .

[^153]:    Rees misread the manuscript as 'Finian Seoctus,' and so failed to recognise the name of the Irish monk.

[^154]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Bonk of Llan Dav, pp. 71, 121, 161, 162, for other examples of this kind of cermony.

[^155]:    ${ }^{2}$ Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.

[^156]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare this with the following passage in Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus S. Martini, lib. ǐ., s. 11 : ' Tradidit ei omnem possessionem suam dicens: "Sint

[^157]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rees' Lives of Cambro-British Saints, supplementary notes, p. 6.

[^158]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fol. 39d old ref., 40d new.

[^159]:    (Fol. 40 old ref., 41 new.
    ${ }^{2}$ Fol. 39d old ref., 40d new.

[^160]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fol. 40 old ref.. 41 new.

[^161]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fol. 39 old ref., 40 new.

[^162]:    ${ }^{1}$ See supra, p. 154, n.

[^163]:    2 Fol. 38d old ref., 39d new.

[^164]:    ${ }^{1}$ Les Origines du Système Féodal, c. iv. and c. v.

[^165]:    3' Ecclesiæ vero istorum omnes
    fere tot personas et participes habent, quot capitalium virorum in parochia genera fuerint.' Desc. Camb. lib. ii. c. vi.

[^166]:    * Portionary Churches of Mediceval North Wales, annexed to Mr. Palmer's 'History of the Parish Church of Wrexham.'

[^167]:    ${ }^{1}$ I am indebted to Mr. M. R. James, of King's College, Cambridge, for the suggestion that the Cadoc recurds may have been copied out of a Gospel book of Cadoc's Church, such a one being mentioned as 'yet remain.

[^168]:    ${ }^{1}$ The 'copy' herein referred to is Rentals and Surveys Foll 769, P.R.O.

[^169]:    ${ }^{1} T$ in the copy.

[^170]:    ${ }^{1}$ Not in the copy.

[^171]:    ${ }^{1}$ Supplied from the copy.

[^172]:    ${ }^{1}$ The copy ends here.

[^173]:    ${ }^{2}$ On a parchment schedule sewed on to the end of the Roll.

[^174]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now Ministers＇Accounts，Bundle 1227，No． 3.

[^175]:    ${ }^{1}$ Now Lay Subsidy ${ }^{2} \frac{4}{2}$.

[^176]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in the MS．

[^177]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in the MS.

[^178]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in the MS．

[^179]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in the MS.

[^180]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in MS.

[^181]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in the MS.

[^182]:    ${ }^{1}$ So in the MS.

[^183]:    ${ }^{1}$ In a later hand.

[^184]:    * The grammatical errors are so numerous in the original that the transcriber has left many unnoticed.

[^185]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sic, for domui.

